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BHAVNAGAR STATE CENSUS

1931

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PART I

REPORT

BY

RAMANLAL K. TRIVEDI, B. A., LL. B.,

ASSISTANT CENSUS SUPERINTENDENT,
BHAVNAGAR STATE

Bhavnagar
1932

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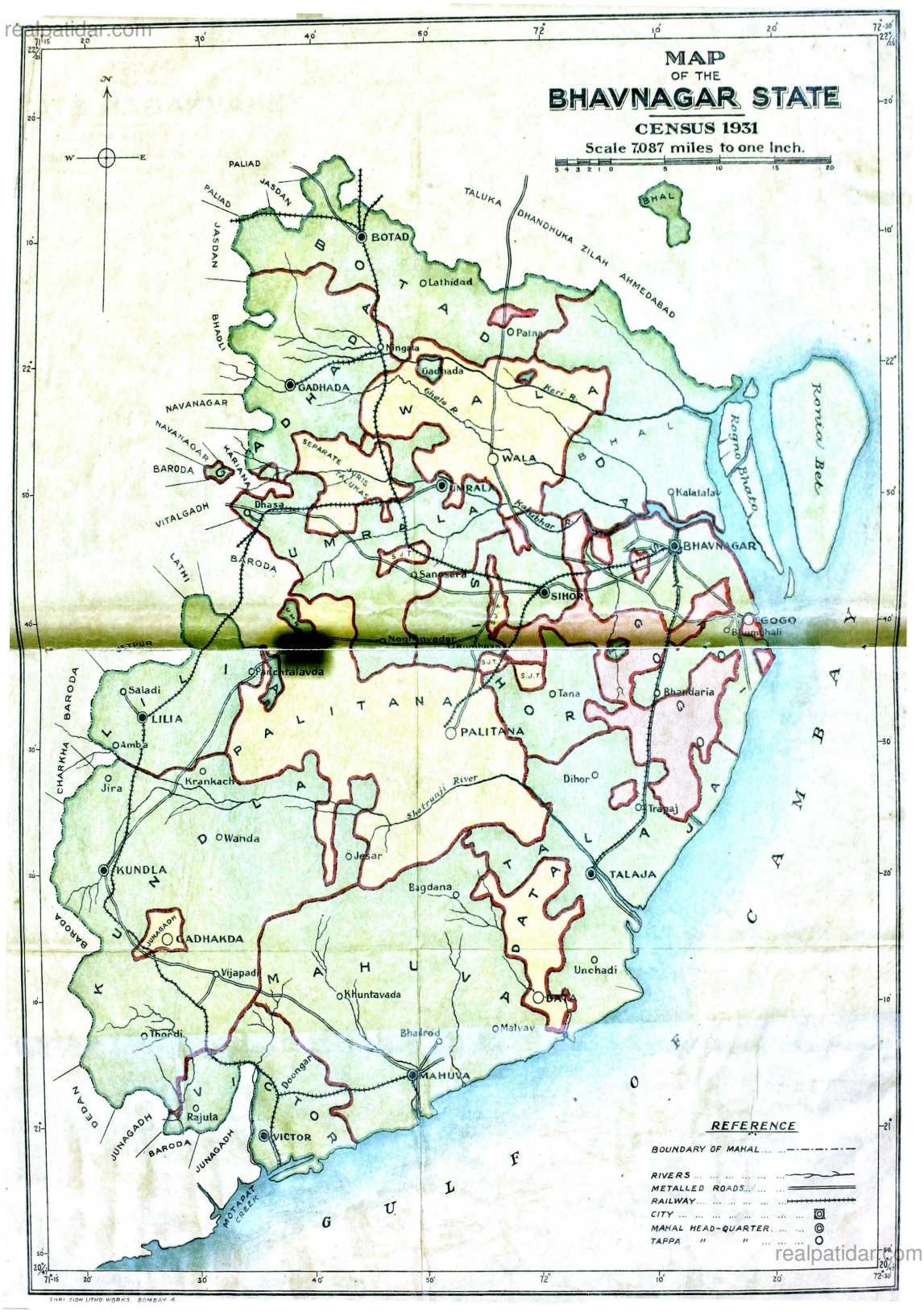

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INTRODUCTION

While introducing the first Census Report of the State, a reference may well be made to the previous attempts that have been hithertofore made at the enumeration of the people. The idea of counting the people of the land is not alien to India. Such attempts date as far back as the time of the Great Chanakya, the minister of the Maurya Emperor, Chandra Gupta.

Referring to the existence in India of some sort of Census over two thousand years ago, Mr. Narendra Nath Law writes:—

"The testimony of Megasthenes is amply confirmed by the details of census and similar operations preserved in the Arthashastra. The necessity to Government of an intimate knowledge of the places and people under it goes without saying, and it is no wonder that in the effective administrative organization of Chandra Gupta there was found a place for census operations, the scope and aims of which were, however, necessarily different from those of similar operations in modern times."[1]

But the modern and more scientific method of taking a Census, involving the entering of all the intricate details regarding the individual, *viz.*, his age, sex and civil condition, religion, caste and birthplace, education, occupation and infirmity, if any, which makes of it a decennial feature, was for the first time introduced in the year 1872 when the first regular census was taken in the State along with the first Imperial Census. The second Census was taken in 1881, after which it has been taken every ten years all over the country. The present is, therefore, the seventh or the sixth decennial census of the State.

Bhavnagar State carries out its Census operations in co-operation with the Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations, Bombay Presidency. Until 1921, no direct correspondence with the States concerned was entered into, and the Political Agent acted as an intermediary. As this introduced a delaying factor, the then Provincial Superintendent, the late Mr. Sedgwick, was led to remark that "at all future Censuses it is desirable that the intermediation of the Political Agent should be everywhere cut off and the Superintendent be allowed to correspond direct with the State Census Officer in all matters of pure census organization." This suggestion was on the present occasion translated into action by setting up direct correspondence between the State and Provincial Superintendents so far as the Census arrangements were concerned. It need hardly be said that this departure from the old practice tended towards a quicker despatch of work and speedier solution of doubts and difficulties.

2. Some Past Practices.—Until 1921, the activities of the Census Department extended merely to the making of certain arrangements preliminary to the taking of the first and the final counts, after which the schedules were transported to Songadh for abstraction. The State staff and the Assistant Superintendent who were sent there, carried out the work of copying the slips and sorting and compilation of the Tables under the supervision of the Agency Officer specially appointed in this behalf. This practice entailed great hardship and inconvenience to a large clerical staff which had to be temporarily moved at a considerable distance from Bhavnagar. Living was necessarily costly, and lodging and boarding facilities to those outsiders who came to such a small place as Songadh from the different States in the Gohilwad Prant, were not easily available. But this year there was not set up any Abstraction Office either at Songadh or at any other place in Kathiawar and all the States in the Western India States Agency were asked to send their Schedules to the Gujarat Central Abstraction Office opened at

1. *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 106.

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(*iv*) *Enumeration Proper.*—As it is not possible to make all the entries for the enumerated on the Final Night, the preliminary record was commenced a few weeks in advance, *i.e.*, on the 20th January 1931 in rural areas, but in the urban areas where the fluctuations in population are great, it was commenced a week later. In both the places it was completed by the 10th February. On the night of 26th February between the hours of 7 p. m. and midnight, the final count was carried out by revising the entries, that is by adding the newly born and the new-comers and scoring out the absentees and those deceased during the interval. To facilitate checking and correction of errors which are the best way to secure the accuracy of a statistical record and details of entry, the 17th, 18th and 19th, as well as the 25th and 26th days of February were gazetted public holidays. After the provisional figures were received from all the charges by the 1st March, the consolidated totals were wired to the Census Commissioner for India, Delhi, and to the Provincial Superintendent, Poona.

4. Co-operation of the Public.—The secret of a successful Census lies in the co-operation of all concerned. The Census army of enumerators is usually manned by the State servants, pensioners and licensees. But as the force thus supplied did not prove sufficient, the deficiency was made good by enlisting the support of the public which volunteered their services in good numbers. The assistance rendered by the latter especially in the rural areas was appreciable, and minimized the expenditure on paid enumerators engaged on the final night. In the matter of volunteering information also, the attitude of the public was all throughout the Census operations, one of willing and hearty co-operation. It is as much reflective of the sense of civic duty of the people as it is expressive of the fact that no repurcussions of the political upheaval were felt in this State.

5. Abstraction Operations.—After the counting of numbers was over, the enumeration books were called for from the charge offices which were received in the Abstraction Office by the 21st March. The crude material that had been collected in the general schedules had to be refined and manufactured into finished products in the shape of Imperial and State Tables in the laboratory of the Abstraction Office. The process was carried out in three stages, *viz.*, (*i*) Slip-copying, (*ii*) Sorting, and (*iii*) Compilation and Tabulation. The information recorded in the enumeration books was copied for each individual on the slips of different colours indicating the main religions. Civil condition and sex were to be shown on the slips by symbols made on them. But special slips were prepared for the infirm by a band of selected copyists. After the slips for an enumeration book were checked, they were sorted by the supervisor by sex and religion, the number of each kind being inserted into Register A from which the Village Tables were finally prepared. The final totals supplied by the former differed from the provisional by 382. The margin of error is thus noticed to be ·007 per cent. But if the figure of 198 derived from the schedules for the train and port enumeration received after the provisional figures were wired to the Provincial Superintendent be deducted, the difference is reduced to 184 or only ·003 per cent. The next stage in the Abstraction Office was reached with the sorting of slips. It was the process of arranging slips under the heads required for such of the final tables as could not be compiled from Register A, counting the slips thus arrayed and entering the number on printed forms called Sorters' Tickets. Sorting operations commenced on the 25th May, the first few days being devoted to the sorting of religious sects. Regular sorting for the Imperial Tables commenced on June 6th, and was completed on the 29th September. Sorting of all the castes and sub-castes existing in the State took some considerable amount of time, though the final table included only the important castes, and the sub-castes of Brahmans, Vanias, Kanbis and Kolis. Compilation was proceeding *pari passu* with sorting and lasted up to the 24th October 1931. Twenty Imperial and two State Tables that have been compiled have been printed and separately published as Part II of the Census series.

6. Special Features of the Current Census.—The present Census has kept before it rather a very ambitious programme of work. It will be described here in brief leaving it to the reader to appreciate the degree of success achieved

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after a perusal of the following pages of the Report. Side by side with the population Census, certain special enquiries of economic and sociological importance were undertaken by the Census Department. Special fertility schedules recording the sex of the first born, number of children born to and size of a family, fertility of the various strata of the State population, etc. were got filled in for the first time. Despite the novelty and delicate nature of the enquiry a fair number of 6,137 schedules was received. The Sex Tables compiled therefrom and the results of their examination are submitted in Part II of Chapter V—Sex. The enquiry aiming at collecting the figures of those unemployed literate in English was not successful as in the rest of India. Special Census Committees were appointed to gather first hand information regarding the institution of caste, its constitution, authority and jurisdiction, caste customs such as child-marriage, widow re-marriage, sale of bride, etc., religious sects and other topics, information which was to be subsequently utilised in the writing of the Report. The statistics relating to the cottage and rural industries have been also compiled and given in the Chapter on Occupation.

So much for the special inquiries. But the variations in details of compilation and tabulation were numerous. Until the last Census, a small booklet containing some Imperial Tables showing only the State totals was published, but the details either for the individual Mahals or the City were not separately abstracted. On the present occasion, the Tables Volume, as will be considered below, has largely added not only to the quantity but also has made considerable progress in classification of material by showing the details both for the Mahals and the City of Bhavnagar in all the important Imperial Tables. Two important State Tables have been also compiled for the first time and Table I supplies the figures by Tappas. Imperial Table XVI—Part B giving the figures for the main religious sects returned in the State is a new feature of the Tables Volume. The castes chosen for the purpose of the main Table have been considerably increased. Tables designed to show the Civil Condition, Age Constitution, Literacy and Infirmity of Selected Castes and Occupational distribution of traditional castes were not sorted uptil now. But the present Census which had set before it the task of undertaking the work of report-writing for the first time could not miss the opportunity of tabulating these very valuable statistics. The increase in the number of units and details to be sorted referred to above greatly multiplied the work of the Census Office. A reference to the marginally noted publications cannot but give an idea of the work that the Census Department has turned out as a result of its labours during the last two years. As against only 13 Imperial Tables compiled in 1921, the present Census has compiled 20 Imperial Tables, 17 part Tables, 2 State Tables, and 242 Subsidiary and marginal tables. The Village Tables separately published in vernacular have been greatly improved upon by increasing the data and details hitherto incorporated therein. Alphabetical index of villages, density map by Tappas, and addition of some new tables, figures of area and the nature of land tenure are some of its new features. The compilation of the statistics of birth and death-rates necessitated a reference to the old records of the Medical Department of the past ten years and took considerable time and entailed much trouble to prepare them. The various Appendices that have been inserted in the Report (*a*) examine the results of the Census of livestock which was taken in February 1930, (*b*) explain the past development and present tendencies at work in the institution of caste, (*c*) give account of the wandering tribe of Adodias, (*d*) describe the organization and principles of the Swaminarayan sect which made its appearance in the State during the last century as also that well known educational institution, the Daxina Murti Bhuwan and (*e*) refer to the anthropometric survey. But the last though not the least important feature of the current Census is the Report.

Name of Publication	Part
Census Report ...	I
Imperial and State Tables.	II
Administrative Report Village Tables (in Gujarati)	III

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7. The Report.—It may be pointed out at the outset that until the last Census, the activities of the Census Department consisted of sorting and compiling some of the Imperial Tables giving the statistics for the State as a whole. At the Censuses of 1921 and 1911, though the idea of report-writing was mooted, for one reason or another it did not materialize. This is, therefore, a maiden attempt at the writing of the State Census Report which may be deemed to supply a long-felt want. The desire to have a separate report of the State Census which had been cherished since 1911 is at last realised in 1931. In the absence of any previous attempt to serve as a guide in this arduous work, the path was beset with many difficulties. Where consideration of large numbers is involved, a comparative idea of intercensal variations can be had only by comparing the proportions per cent. or per mille of the figures examined for the different units. For, in a statistical study, facts are better compared on the basis of their ratios, selecting the one or the other quantity as a base. Variations in numbers, age constitution and distribution by civil condition, etc. of the population are compared for the last fifty years and for the main religions. And a very large number of proportions, which would be available to the future Census Superintendents in a cut-and-dried form for all the past Censuses upto 1931, had all to be worked out for the first time on this occasion. It involved elaborate working out of the different ratios and other proportional figures for the numerous Subsidiary and marginal tables inserted in the Report. The task was made much more difficult by the incompleteness and defective nature of some of the past statistics which came in the way of useful comparisons. Some of the Subsidiary and marginal statements which had been got ready after devoting much precious time, had to be dispensed with, when some data that had not been compiled at the past Censuses were lacking or were incomplete. The compilation of the birth and death-rates and the statement showing the various causes of death for the last ten years referred to above had to be first compiled for each individual Mahal and then totalled up for the State as a whole.

On the compilation of the Imperial and State Tables, the tabulation of the necessary Subsidiary and marginal tables was undertaken. Chapter I which involves a discussion of the general, physical and economic condition of the decade called for a preparation of some of the tables from the statistics obtained from the various State Departments. After these were received and the necessary statements prepared therefrom, the work of writing the Report could be taken in hand. It lasted from the commencement of December 1931 to the end of July 1932. It must be observed that though the discussion in the Report has been strictly confined to Census subjects, some of the questions as early marriage, caste, etc., which the other reports will refer to in brief owing to their having considered them before, have been more fully examined in the pages that follow owing to the fact that ours is a first attempt in this direction, and that their full exposition is, therefore, legitimately due to the reader. Graphical presentation of statistics by means of diagrams is, as Whipple says, a distinct aid to the mind in grasping their meaning and fixing them in memory, especially when the figures become unwieldy or attain magnitudes beyond the ordinary range of familiarity. Curves, maps and diagrams have been, therefore, prepared to illustrate the decennial variations, and changes in distribution and the same inserted in the Report along with some interesting photographs.

Finally, we may be permitted to say that no pains have been spared to make the current census and the Report as comprehensive as possible. Nascent as such an effort is, none realises more than myself the manifold obstacles and various limitations that confront the production of such a document. However, in all humility, it may be said that an honest attempt has been made to meet them, and make of this Report a useful book of reference. At the same time, I am to ask for the kind indulgence of the reader for the many shortcomings of which I am only too conscious.

8. Acknowledgments.—Census Reports in India are, so to say standardized, in the sense that they follow the plan fixed in advance and laid down by the Census Commissioner for India in his Notes on the Chapters of the Report. The

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latter offer, indeed, very helpful and valuable suggestions for the treatment of the census topics. Reports that have been published in the past also render very useful guidance in the matter of report-writing. Those of them that have proved especially useful were the Baroda State and Bombay Presidency Reports for 1921, and the All-India Reports for 1911 and 1921. The Notes referred to above, and kindly supplied by Mr. Dracup, the Provincial Superintendent, Bombay Presidency, assisted a great deal in the framing of the present Report. Our heart-felt thanks are, therefore, due to the latter Officer not only for the copy of the Notes supplied by him, but for his prompt explanations of some of the doubtful points referred to him from time to time. The general guidance given by him during the enumeration and abstraction stages of the Census Operations, also deserves to be gratefully acknowledged.

But any degree of success which this Census may have achieved is, it goes without saying, mainly due to the generous support of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb in the matter of finance and to his encouragement of every proposal designed to make this Census as comprehensive and all-embracing as possible and we hereby tender to him our most respectful gratitude.

Our cordial thanks are also due to the President, Sir Prabhashanker Pattani, K.C.I.E., and other members of the State Council for the support and assistance given by them from time to time in the course of the Census Operations. Col. Mosse as the then Vice-President was in charge of the Census Port-folio, and he very kindly and promptly backed up every measure which has materially contributed to what success has attended the work of Census Department. To Dewan Bahadur Tribhuwandas K. Trivedi, Member of the State Council, we are indebted more than we can express. His vast experience of long-standing of the administration offered immediate solution of many a knotty question referred to him now and anon. He has laid us under deep obligation by continually making very valuable suggestions as to what should be embodied and what should be excluded from, what subjects should be treated in, and what extra tables should form part of the Report. But what was more important, were the suggestions made by him while reading the whole Report to him before it was finally sent to the press for publication. Opportunity is also taken to thankfully acknowledge the co-operation of the various State Departments in further furnishing the statistics and information asked for. Dr. B. S. Guha, A.M.,Ph. D., Anthropologist of the Zoological Survery of India, Calcutta, who visited the State for anthropometrical survey undertaken in connection with the current Census on behalf of the Census Commissioner for India, was kind enough to supply some typical photos and the statement showing the results of his measurements. We are highly obliged to him for this act of courtesy.

Coming to the staff of the Census Office, it must be said that the zeal and industry with which all of them have worked even during holidays and out-of-office hours to make the present Census a success, were really most commendable and are deserving of the highest praise.

Of course the brunt of the whole work had to be borne by the Assistant Census Superintendent, Mr. Ramanlal K. Trivedi. Although he was entirely new to the Census work when he was first taken up, he has amply justified his selection by the characteristic manner in which he identified himself with his new duties from the beginning. As Revenue Commissioner I had enough pre-occupations of my own, which left me little leisure to attend to the Census work beyond a most general and superficial supervision. In fact Mr. Ramanlal K. Trivedi has shouldered the whole burden single-handed and the result of his arduous and single-minded labours is to be seen in the pages of the accompanying report.

The office had in Mr. B. K. Patel, B.A., a very enthusiastic and hardworking Head Clerk, in Mr. Balvantrai H. Shukla, a very speedy and energetic typist, and in Mr. Vidyashanker I. Dave, a very useful and able clerk, who was ready to do any work entrusted to him in a way that gave entire satisfaction. Mr. Chhaganlal's usefulness as a Shirastedar has been already noticed in the Administrative Report.

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For the graphical value of the Report, the work done by Mr. Abdul Gafur Nasir, Head Clerk of the Port Department, in preparing the diagrams, curves and maps to be inserted in the Report is really praiseworthy for accuracy and neatness of design. The promptness with which he understood and executed the varied suggestions made to him for framing them is really commendable. For preparing the photo-zinco and half-tone blocks, that well-known artist, Mr. Ravishanker Raval of Kumar Karyalaya, and for the Litho blocks Shri Sidh Litho Works, Bombay, deserve special mention, for the excellence of their artistic execution. Lastly, the Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, deserves great credit for the nice get-up and excellent printing of the Tables and Report Volumes which have made them more attractive and greatly added to their utility.

NATVARLAL M. SURATI,
General Superintendent
of
Census Operations

BHAVNAGAR
Dated the 27th July 1932

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REPORT

ON THE

CENSUS OF BHAVNAGAR STATE

1931

CHAPTER I

DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION

SECTION I—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The territories of the State of Bhavnagar lie at the head and west side of the Gulf of Cambay in the Peninsula of Kathiawar, though a few outlying villages are situated in the Dhandhuka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. The State does not present a compact appearance, interspersed as it is with the foreign territories of the States of Palitana and Wala, and the British Taluka of Gogha. This is due to the historical antecedents of the State which have mainly contributed to the raising of the small Gohel principality of Sihor into the present State of Bhavnagar, by additions made to it from time to time by the brave and enterprising predecessors of the present ruler. The anarchy and misrule prevalent on the eve of the dissolution of the Great Mughal Empire fired Bhavsinhji I with an ambition to secure a suitable venue for the extension of his existing kingdom, and found the present capital of Bhavnagar in the year 1723. At that time the British had already appeared on the scene, and the hold of the Peshwa and the Gaekwar on Saurashtra was loosening. The time that followed proved greatly opportune for the realisation by Wakhatsinhji and Wajesinhji of the dream of the modern Bhavnagar cherished by Bhavsinhji I. They extended and consolidated their kingdom and brought it to its present dimensions, by defeating the neighbouring chiefs and subduing the turbulent Khasias and Khuman Kathis whose territories they conquered. Since then the area of the State has undergone very little change of noticeable importance.

2. Area and Boundaries.—The State lies between 21°18′ and 22°18′ north latitude and 71°15′ and 72°18′ east longitude. It has been cadastrally surveyed, and according to the Revision Survey recently completed, the total area of the State is recorded to be 2,961 square miles which shows an increase of 101 square miles upon the area as shown at the last Census. The Bhavnagar State is bounded on the north by the Ranpur parganah under the Ahmedabad District and by the Jhalawar and Panchal Sub-divisions of the Peninsula; on the south by the Arabian Sea; on the east by the Gulf of Cambay and a portion of the Dhandhuka Taluka; and on the west by the Sorath, Kathiawar and Halar sub-divisions. The Separate Jurisdiction villages are also scattered over the territory of the State.

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3. Administrative Divisions.—For the purposes of revenue administration, this State is divided into two Divisions, *viz.*, Northern and Southern, each comprising of five Mahals or districts. The Mahals are further sub-divided into Tappas which are groups of villages of convenient size. The Mahals of Daskroi, Sihor, Botad, Gadhada, and Umrala constitute the Northern, and those of Lilia, Kundla, Victor, Mahuva, and Talaja the Southern Division of the State. As far back as 1881, the State consisted of nine Mahals only, when the Mahal of Victor was for the first time brought into being and constituted into a separate Mahal, with the Rajula and Dungar Tappas of the Mahuva Mahal. Another important change was the transfer in 1918 of the twelve villages of Daskroi to the Mahal of Talaja, which with the addition of other few villages of the latter Mahal formed under it the separate Tappa of Trapaj. A new Tappa of Bhandaria was constituted in the place of the Trapaj Tappa thus transferred to Talaja by taking a few villages of the old Trapaj Tappa and some others from the Bhumbhali Tappa. In the year 1923, the villages of Rajapara and Sakhadasar of the Daskroi Mahal were also transferred to the Trapaj Tappa of the Talaja Mahal. The changes thus effected from time to time have had a corresponding effect upon the area and population of the Mahals and Tappas concerned. Adjustments have, therefore, been made in the figures of population of the preceding Censuses as shown in Imperial Tables II and XX and State Table I on the basis of the area, as it stood on the 26th February 1931. As has been already noticed in the Introduction, a significant departure has been made from the practice of the previous Censuses of giving figures only for the State as a whole in that a special recognition has been accorded to the City of Bhavnagar and also to the Mahals in certain important tables where they have been taken as a unit.

4. Area of Mahals.—The marginal table gives the figures of area of the ten Mahals of the State. From the point of area, the Mahal of Daskroi enjoys the first place with an area of 560 square miles. Next come the Mahals of Kundla and Mahuva whose respective areas are 550 and 465 square miles; Lilia and Victor are the smallest of the State Mahals, and have an area of 148 and 142 square miles respectively.

MAHAL	Area in square Miles
Total	**2,961**
Daskroi	560
Sihor	197
Umrala	214
Gadhada	190
Botad	231
Lilia	148
Kundla	550
Victor	142
Mahuva	465
Talaja	264

5. Natural Divisions.—It has been the usual practice of the Census Reports in India to divide a State or Province into Natural Divisions consisting of tracts in which the natural features are more or less homogeneous. Such an attempt in the case of a State of the size of Bhavnagar is hardly of any practical utility. Bhavnagar State itself forms a part of a greater natural division of the country styled as Kathiawar. Besides, the advantage of having natural divisions has been more than once questioned, as in actual practice the figures are more particularly required by administrative divisions rather than by natural divisions. Divisions of this kind are hardly scientific and are still less suited to a comparatively smaller state as this. Such an attempt has, therefore, been abandoned. It may, however, be noted here that in dealing with larger areas, the scheme must be regarded to possess some value where people are bound together by ties of language and sentiment. Natural divisions are also useful in explaining the variation in density at different places resulting from the differences of climate, rainfall, and soil. But in the case of the Bhavnagar State where the differences of language and sentiment are non-existent, and where the divergence in climate and soil is not very great except in a few places, the creation of natural divisions should safely be dropped. An attempt in this direction will, however, suggest the division of the State into the Kharopat, Kanthal, Non-Kanthal and Bhal. The Kharopat will include the Mahal of Lilia, and the Jira and Kundla Tappas of the Kundla Mahal; whereas the Kanthal will include the Coastal Mahals of Mahuva and Talaja, and some portion of the Daskroi Mahal. The Bhal will be a separate division by itself owing to its physical peculiarities. The remainder portion of land may be conveniently called the Non-Kanthal.

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6. Definition of "Population."—Before undertaking a statistical analysis of the figures of population as returned by the Census, a clear understanding of the term 'population' as used in the Census literature is necessary. By the population of the Bhavnagar State is meant all persons enumerated on the night of the 26th February 1931, as being present and alive within the State territories, persons travelling by railway and enumerated at the stations situated within the boundary of the State, and persons on board the vessels in Bhavnagar waters including those for whom the schedules were received from the Port Supervisor upto the 15th March 1931. The aggregate of the population thus recorded is the actual or *de facto* population of the State as distinguished from its *de jure* or normal resident population. The former will include persons not residing within the State territories and exclude some of the normal residents who will be enumerated outside the State.

The Indian Census is a synchronous Census, and aims at enumerating all the persons wherever found at a particular time on a particular day. The hours between 7 p. m. and midnight have been conveniently chosen for the purpose. Every precaution is taken to enumerate all living human beings, wherever found, whether in houses numbered for the purpose, or outside the houses on roads, railways, steamers, as well as the vagrants in the streets for whose enumeration special arrangements are made. By a judicious selection of the Census Night, the least possible fluctuation in the movement of population is secured. In India, the month of February or March corresponding to the Hindu month of Falgun is generally selected. For, it is the part of the year when no great assemblages and religious fairs are held, and celebration of marriages is prohibited among the Hindus.

The *de jure* population is the population normally residing in a locality. In India, the population as recorded at the preliminary enumeration will roughly supply figures of the *de jure* population of the State. For, only the population living in houses which correspond to so many 'commensal families' is enumerated at the first count which takes no notice of the temporary sojourners and the travelling public.

The basis of classification of population differs in different countries. England and France have the same basis of classification as India. What is called *de facto* in India is in France known as "la population de fait". Population *de jure* is equivalent to "la population de droit" which includes all persons usually resident in an area including those temporarily absent, and excluding those only momentarily present. There is also a third division, *viz.*, "la population municipale" which the French have adopted. It means "la population de droit" *minus* prisoners, hospital patients, scholars, residents in schools, members of convents, the army and so on. The United States of America have a threefold classification, *viz.*, the "Constitutional population" which excludes residents in Indian Reservations, the Territories and the District of Columbia; the "general population" which includes in addition the territories; and the "total population," which includes all excluded in the former.[1]

A synchronous Census with its double classification of the population into *de facto* and *de jure* is best suited to Indian conditions for its simplicity in enumerating the people inhabiting such a vast continent.

7. Accuracy of Census Figures.—After this preliminary discussion as to the meaning of the term 'population' some estimate of the degree of accuracy of the Census figures may well be made. Doubts are not unfrequently expressed regarding their correctness and accuracy. In such a complex business as the Census, absolute accuracy is to be found nowhere in this world. It must always remain as an ideal which every Census worker should try his best to attain without completely attaining it. Because an ideal Census presupposes that every citizen of the State understands his civic responsibility and will try to see that he is properly enumerated. On the other hand, every Census official will, in his

1. Prof. Bowley, *Elements of Statistics*, p. 25.

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turn, fulfil his duty and leave no stone unturned to secure this state of ideal perfection. But as human nature varies from place to place and from one individual to another, this is never to be hoped for. Errors and omissions are, therefore, bound to occur. Cases of persons left out from enumeration as also of persons enumerated twice over, not to talk of the cases of inexact entries, will always occur. But this is inevitable and cannot be helped. What is, therefore, necessary is to take such precautions and devise such safeguards as will reduce the resulting mistakes to a minimum. The extent to which they are put into practice will determine the degree of accuracy achieved.

So far as the present Census is concerned it may with all modesty be asserted that both from the point of numbers and details, it is better placed than any of its predecessors. And this opinion has been shared by not a few responsible State officials and public men who have been kind enough to point out the comparative superiority of the present Census. Various factors have contributed to this success. Deterrent punishment of the indolent workers coupled with substantial encouragement given to the deserving in the shape of cash rewards to the extent of nearly Rs. 1,500 had a very wholesome effect in improving the existing machinery of enumeration. It put the workers on their mettle and induced them to show better work. Proper instructions supplemented by extensive checking and inspection exercised by the supervising Census officials greatly improved the recording of the entries in the enumeration books.

It must, however, be admitted that there must have been persons who will not have been enumerated at all and who must be offset against those enumerated twice. The resulting error will indeed be very small, almost negligible, as it is spread over large numbers. So from the point of numbers, the present Census may be credited with the fairest degree of accuracy without the slightest hesitation. Omissions are likely to occur in the case of the public travelling by rail and steamer. And they will vary from station to station according to the arrangements made to enumerate the passengers at the platform, and on the running trains, and vessels in the harbour. It is unnecessary to enter here into useless details about the precautions taken in this behalf, and already mentioned in the Administrative Report. Suffice it, therefore, to say that the hearty co-operation of the Railway authorities was of great help in eliminating all probable errors which can be judged from the fact that as many as 1,752 persons were enumerated on the railway platforms, running trains, and boats.

From the point of details, this Census has been more comprehensive than any of its predecessors. And yet there is left much to be desired by way of making the entries recorded perfect, especially in entering the details regarding the occupational columns which is the stumbling block of the Census in almost all the countries of the world. Some of the important details are, therefore, lacking, leaving ample scope for the intelligent guesses of the Abstraction Office. But this can be only remedied by a proper understanding of the scheme of enumeration which cannot be ensured so long as the great mass of the people is uneducated and the available enumerators in rural areas are not sufficiently trained. Any short-coming, therefore, that is likely to manifest itself will be rather in the direction of under-estimation than that of over-estimation. Attention will, from time to time, be invited to the value to be attached to the various sets of figures at the commencement of each Chapter.

There is, however, one point of great significance about the Census figures of 1931. The No-tax campaign and the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mr. Gandhi on the 12th March 1930 were going on in British India, until the Delhi Pact was signed on the 5th March 1931. The multifarious boycott activities of the Indian National Congress saw in the Census a fresh venue for obstructing the Government. The Census officials in some places in British India were handicapped in their work by the refusal of some persons to volunteer the information required to be entered in the schedules. But fortunately that was not the case with the Indian States. The Census returns of this State are, therefore, wholly unaffected by the boycott movement. One stray case of refusing

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information, however, occurred in the City of Bhavnagar, but such an exception goes to prove the general success of the present Census.

8. An Estimate of the Normal Population.—The total or actual population of the State as registered at the present Census is 5,00,274 persons of which 2,57,156 are males and 2,43,118 females. The enumeration books record places of birth, but not the places of normal residence, and therefore, afford no clue to the normal resident population of the State. But an estimate of the normal population as distinguished from the total population recorded on the Census Night can be had from the preliminary enumeration. Because the latter takes notice only of the permanent population living in houses situated within a locality. The running and floating population and the outsiders who are in the State at the time of the preliminary enumeration are not entered in the schedules. The preliminary enumeration which records only the *de jure* population may be regarded to make a closer approximation to the normal resident population of the State which comes to 4,93,807 persons of which 2,54,598 are males and 2,39,209 females. The figures on the margin show the difference between the two sets of figures, and represent the fluctuation in the population during the interim period. Out of a total increase of 6,467 persons, as many as 3,239 are absorbed by the City of Bhavnagar. Apart from its urban characteristic the temporary flow of immigration to the capital of the State at the works going on in connection with the Investiture of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb is in no small degree responsible for the swelling of the City population. Fluctuations are more frequent in urban than in rural areas; and this will be seen from an increase of only one person in the preliminary population of the Daskroi Mahal excluding the City of Bhavnagar. But in this as well as in nearly all the other Mahals the increase is partially due to the return home of some of the normal residents from the neighbouring States where they had gone out on wedding parties at the time when the preliminary record was in progress. The solitary exception to this rule of increase is furnished by the Gadhada Mahal where the same cause seems to have operated in an opposite direction.

MAHAL	ENUMERATION		Increase (+) Decrease (−)
	Preliminary	Final	
Total	**4,93,807**	**5,00,274**	**+ 6,467**
Bhavnagar City ...	72,355	75,594	+ 3,239
Daskroi exclusive of City...	31,974	31,975	+ 1
Sihor	34,133	34,471	+ 338
Umrala	34,769	35,077	+ 308
Gadhada	23,460	23,231	− 229
Botad	35,652	36,150	+ 498
Lilia	24,299	25,271	+ 972
Kundla	81,246	81,809	+ 563
Victor	24,107	24,429	+ 322
Mahuva	83,242	83,293	+ 51
Talaja	48,570	48,974	+ 404

9. Area and Population.—The present Census registers a total of 5,00,274 souls. The marginal table shows the figures of percentage distribution of area and population of the State in each of its ten Mahals arranged in order of magnitude. A diagram showing the relation between the area and population of the Mahals is also given below. Each white pearl represents one per cent. of the total area of the State, and each black pearl represents one per cent. of the total population.

MAHAL	% of total population	% of total area
Total	**100**	**100**
Daskrol	21	19
Mahuva	17	16
Kundla	16	18
Talaja	10	9
Botad	7	8
Sihor	7	7
Umrala	7	7
Gadhada	5	6
Lilia	5	5
Victor	5	5

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DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATION OF AREA AND POPULATION 1931

○ EACH WHITE PEARL REPRESENTS ONE PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AREA OF THE STATE
● EACH BLACK PEARL REPRESENTS ONE PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE STATE

No	MAHALS	0 5 10 15 20 25	
1	DASKROI	○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○○○○ ● / ●●●●● ●●●●● ●●●●● ●●●●●	19 21
2	MAHUVA	○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○ / ●●●●● ●●●●● ●●●●● ●●	16 17
3	KUNDLA	○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○○○○○ ○○○ / ●●●●● ●●●●● ●●●●● ●	18 16
4	TALAJA	○○○○○ ○○○○ / ●●●●● ●●●●●	9 10
5	BOTAD	○○○○○ ○○○ / ●●●●● ●●	8 7
6	UMRALA	○○○○○ ○○ / ●●●●● ●●	7 7
7	SIHOR	○○○○○ ○○ / ●●●●● ●●	7 7
8	LILIA	○○○○○ / ●●●●●	5 5
9	VICTOR	○○○○○ / ●●●●●	5 5
10	GADHADA	○○○○○ ○ / ●●●●●	6 5

10. More than half the area and population of the State are contained in the Mahals of Daskroi, Kundla, and Mahuva. More than 15 per cent. of the total population live in the City of Bhavnagar including which the Mahal of Daskroi appropriates to itself 21 per cent. of the total population. The Mahals of Kundla and Mahuva have respectively 16 and 17; Talaja 10; Botad, Umrala, and Sihor each 7; and Lilia and Victor each 5 per cent. of the total population. No great divergence between the percentage distribution of area and population of the Mahals is noticed; and they follow practically the same order with this difference that from the point of area Kundla takes precedence over Mahuva. The Mahals of the State with the exception of Daskroi and Talaja can be conveniently arranged in three groups of three sizes each having Mahals with very nearly the same area and population. Mahuva and Kundla each with nearly 17 per cent. of the total area and population will fall in the first group; Botad, Sihor and Umrala with 7 per cent. in the second; and Gadhada with 6 and Lilia and Victor each with 5 in the third.

SECTION II—MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION

11. Meaning of Movement.—By the movement of population is meant the changes in the population of a unit area of land from Census to Census. The term movement is not used, in the sense of physical movement denoting the migration of people from one place to another and *vice versa*. The latter will, however, form the subject matter of a later chapter relating to Birth-place.

12. Changes Since 1872.—The first synchronous Census of the Bhavnagar State was taken with the first Imperial Census in 1872. The marginal table illustrates that the history of the Bhavnagar State Census has been one of alternate increase and decrease in its population. The 1891, 1911, and 1931 Censuses are the Censuses of increase, whereas those of 1881, 1901, and 1921 are the Censuses of decrease in the State population. The movement of

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population has been more or less uniform throughout all the Mahals of the State. With some minor exceptions, an increase or decrease in the population of the State has been invariably accompanied by a corresponding increase or decrease in the population of its Mahals.

Census Year	Population	Variation since previous Census Increase : Decrease (+) (−)	
		Net	Per cent.
1872	4,03,754	...	...
1881	4,00,323	— 3,434	— ·85
1891	4,67,282	+66,959	+16·7
1901	4,12,664	—54,618	—11·7
1911	4,41,367	+28,703	+ 6·9
1921	4,26,404	—14,963	— 3·5
1931	5,00,274	+73,870	+17·3

13. The population of the State of Bhavnagar as it stood at the commencement of the Census era, *i.e.*, in 1872 was 4,03,754 persons of which 2,13,571 were males and 1,90,183 females. With the periods of alternate rise and fall, it has at the present Census stood at 5,00,274, giving a net increase of 96,520 persons or 23·9 per cent. during the last 59 years. Taking the figures for the last fifty years, the rise is nearly one lac or 25 per cent. There has thus been an average increase of 16,000 souls or 4 per cent. from Census to Census.

14. The Period 1872-1911.—The movement of the population of the State will now be considered in the light of the conditions prevailing during the period 1872-1911. It may be asked: to what then is the variation in the population of an area due? It results from the natural growth or otherwise of the population by an increase or decrease of births over deaths which is due to various causes; from a favourable or unfavourable balance due to an excess or deficit of immigrants over emigrants; from better enumeration; and lastly from changes in its boundaries. As regards the last mentioned factor, it may be briefly stated that since the inception of the Census era, there has been very little change in the boundaries of the State involving an increase or decrease in its population. They have practically remained the same, the Revision Survey being responsible for an increase of 101 square miles in its area. Regarding the accuracy of enumeration, it may be noted that the first two Censuses of 1872 and 1881 must have suffered from want of proper enumeration, as the complex machinery of the Census in its present form was for the first time then set up in the State, and also because the people being new to the Census idea may not have intelligently co-operated in, if not actually opposed to the Census operations. Some time must have, therefore, elapsed before it got into perfect working order. The records of these two Censuses must have naturally suffered, as in the case of the rest of India, from under-enumeration. But since the Census Report of the State comes to be written for the first time on this occasion, it is hardly possible to dip into the past to gauge the extent of this affection. By 1891, as elsewhere, this State also got used to the working of the Census machinery; and as will be seen from the returns of that year, omissions were reduced to a minimum.

15. The rise and fall in the State population and their causes will now be discussed. The decrease of ·85 per cent. revealed at the Census of 1881 was due to the famine of 1878. But the decade 1881-91 was a period of rapid rise and recovery. It has been generally observed that birth-rate rises rapidly after a period of heavy mortality due to war, disease or famine. Famine mortality is high among the very young and the very old; and so when a period of famine is followed by one of plentiful rainfall and good crops as was the case during 1881-91, the population increases rapidly owing to an unusually high proportion of persons at reproductive ages. The movement of population received a great momentum and registered an increase of 16·7 per cent. in 1891 upon the popula-

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tion as returned in 1881 (4,00,323). The increase was alround. The solitary exception to this tendency was, however, noticeable in the Mahal of Botad which recorded a decrease of 1,714 persons. But this decline is not at all convincing at a time when the whole of the State in general, and each of its Mahals in particular showed such an extraordinary onward movement. It can be attributed only to inaccuracy in enumeration. No other intercensal period except the present registers such a high percentage of increase in the State population. The truth of this remark is borne out by examining the comparative figures of the population of the Mahals as it stood in 1891 and 1931. The marginal statement illustrates the unprecedented character of the 1891 Census, and points out that even with the impetus given to the growth of numbers during the last intercensal period, the Mahals of Sihor and Victor have with difficulty succeeded in attaining their 1891 level, whereas the Mahals of Gadhada, Umrala, and Lilia are still lagging behind. But this spell of prosperity did not last long. On the close of the decennium that followed the Census of 1891, the Great Famine of 1900 popularly known as the 'Chhapania,' notorious for the intense misery and irreparable loss it caused to humanity made its appearance. It came as a great calamity and laid low the whole mass of population. History seems to repeat itself in every sphere of human life, and a period of heavy decrease followed a period of heavy increase. There was a decrease in the population of all the Mahals of the State without a single exception. An increase of 16·6 per cent. was followed by a decrease of nearly 12 per cent. But much of the ground lost in 1901 was recovered at the Census of 1911, owing to the favourable agricultural conditions which prevailed during the greater part of the decennium that followed the Big Famine. The damage that was wrought was indeed far too widespread and intense for the loss and suffering involved to be made up during the course of a single decade. Yet nearly half the loss sustained in 1900 was recuperated notwithstanding the ravages of plague which continued in milder form from 1905 to 1908, and a rise of 6·9 per cent. was the result. But this rise was absent in the Mahal of Sihor which showed a negligible decrease of 232 souls.

MAHAL	POPULATION	
	1891	1931
Total	**4,67,282**	**5,00,274**
Daskroi ...	87,130	1,07,569
Sihor	34,784	34,471
Umrala ...	41,072	35,077
Gadhada ...	25,525	23,231
Botad	28,228	36,150
Lilia	26,774	25,271
Kundla	80,145	81,809
Victor	24,565	24,429
Mahuva ...	78,874	83,293
Talaja	40,185	48,974

16. Condition of the Period 1911-21.—The Census of 1921 precedes the decennium which is the subject matter of this Report, and should, therefore, be reviewed in some detail. It is the Census of decreasing returns, and registers a fall of 3·5 per cent. or 14,963 souls in the population of the State as it stood in 1911. Much of the progress made at the last Census was set at naught by the combined effects of a famine followed by plague and influenza epidemics. But they have not affected the Mahal of Talaja and the flourishing Mahal of Botad which seem to have resolved to make up for their past arrears. All seemed to go on well upto the year 1917, and the natural population was increasing under the influence of favourable agricultural and economic conditions. But suddenly the failure of crops was followed by plague, and before it had disappeared, the monster of influenza raised its head, sweeping away a large number of the population of reproductive ages. Both these pests exacted a heavy toll all over the State, and were mainly responsible for the reduction of population. There were other contributory causes also. It was a period of great panic and uneasiness. The World War was raging on the European battle-fields from 1914-19. The prices had gone enormously high; years were lean; and living had become dear. These then were not the times which would encourage any growth of population. To this should be added the effect of the migratory currents set into motion by the great impetus given by the war to the

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Indian trade and commerce. The artificial prosperity of the war time that had seized the Indian trading and commercial centres and the boom period that followed it, attracted the enterprising Bhavnagaris to the cities like Bombay and Ahmedabad. This outward flow of the State population accounts to no mean degree for the decline in the movement of population noticed in 1921.

Section III—The Past Decennium

1921-30

17. Changes prior to 1921 have been disposed of. The agricultural, industrial, and the general physical conditions obtaining during the decade under report will now be dealt with, in order that some idea can be had of the causes that have promoted the growth of numbers during the past ten years.

18. Condition of Agriculture.—A description of the agricultural condition during the past decennium must involve a discussion of the physical condition and other problems that directly influence the extension, development and normal progress of the cultivation of the soil, as also of the incidents that indirectly contribute to the well-being and amelioration of the agriculturist by improving and bettering his economic condition. Among the first will be considered such questions as the land under cultivation, proportion of cultivated land to cultivable land, land under irrigation, the proportion of land under different kinds of crops, and rainfall. Among the second will be considered the effects of such measures as credit co-operative societies, and the Khedut Debt Redemption Scheme.

19. Land under Cultivation.—With a negligible variation the land under cultivation during 1921-31 practically remained the same. A slight increase during 1925, raised the acreage for that year to 7,40,219. The following are the figures of Darbari proper and Barkhali land in acres for the year 1930:—

DARBARI PROPER				Barkhali Land	Total Area
Assessed and occupied	Assessed but unoccupied	Unassessed and unoccupied	Total		
7,39,797	21,902	4,05,039	11,66,738	47,775	12,14,513

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Density, Water Supply and Crops

STATE	Mean Density per square mile	Mean density per square mile of cultivable area	Percentage to total area of		Percentage to cultivable area of		Percentage of cultivated area which is irrigated	Normal Rainfall	Percentage of gross cultivated area under				
			Cultivable area	Net Cultivated area	Net Cultivated	Double Cropped			Wheat	Sugarcane	Bajri, Juwar etc.	Oil Seeds	Cotton
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Bhavnagar State	169	394	43	43	99	·9	4·0	20·3	4	·1	61	8	27

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20. Crops.—The Subsidiary Table gives figures of the mean density per square mile of the total and cultivable area. The percentages of cultivable and net cultivated area to the total are also shown. By 'gross cultivated' or total area sown or cropped is meant the net cultivated land *plus* the area which is double cropped. Thus by adding 7,796 acres which are double cropped to 8,12,322 of netcultivated area, the figure of8, 20,118 acres under gross cultivation is arrived. By 'net cultivated' area is meant the gross cultivated area *minus* the double cropped. During the year 1930, *bajri, juwar* and other staple food stuffs were grown in 61 per cent. of the gross cultivated area. Of the other produce, cotton came highest with 27 per cent., whereas oilseeds, wheat and sugarcane were sown in 8, 4 and ·1 per cent. of the total cultivated area. Food stuffs claimed the highest percentage of the total sown area; and cotton more than one-fourth. But in the years 1924 and 1925 the latter appropriated 36 per cent. of the total area under gross cultivation on account of the high prices of cotton then ruling the market. At the commencement of the decade, *i.e.*, in 1921 cotton was grown in 1,70,170 acres, but the rising tide of prices in 1922 increased the area in 1923 to 2,39,477 acres, which further expanded to 3,15,991 and 3,15,929 acres in 1924 and 1925 respectively. But with the fall in prices in 1926, it again fell to 2,76,544 acres and as low as 1,97,514 in 1929, when the prices were barely sufficient to cover the expenses of cultivation and leave a very narrow margin of profit. The marginal table gives the figures in acres of different kinds of crops sown from 1920–1930. Food stuffs have been increasingly sown during 1929 and 1930. The area under wheat cultivation was at its highest in 1929, and with *bajri* and *juwar* claimed 68·8 per cent. of the gross cultivated area. Area under oilseeds and sugarcane showed slight fluctuations, in response to the rise in prices, by showing an increase in the area sown. During the decade, the total area sown including the double cropped has shown a steady rise. From 6,87,836 acres in 1921 it has come upto 8,20,118 acres in 1930, and in 1924 and 1925 when the prices ruled highest it went up to 8,68,246 and 8,79,144 acres respectively. The effect of a rise in the level of prices is seen from the increasing area of land thus brought under cultivation. The diagram opposite illustrates the variation in the gross cultivated area, and the area under the different kinds of crops from year to year.

Year	Cotton	Wheat	Oil seeds	*Bajri, Juwar*, etc.	Sugarcane	Total Area Cropped
1920	2,40,653	32,840	53,285	4,21,788	771	7,49,337
1921	1,70,170	40,024	74,834	4,02,098	710	6,87,836
1922	1,73,525	40,966	52,049	4,31,862	1,225	6,99,627
1923	2,39,477	38,911	64,582	4,23,389	1,122	7,67,481
1924	3,15,991	35,839	77,416	4,37,967	1,033	8,68,246
1925	3,15,929	32,803	61,750	4,68,079	583	8,79,144
1926	2,76,544	31,098	55,108	4,38,415	779	8,01,944
1927	2,81,946	37,297	61,464	4,38,010	1,167	8,19,884
1928	2,64,150	35,844	60,508	4,45,246	1,246	8,06,994
1929	1,97,514	63,414	56,560	5,04,328	2,478	8,24,294
1930	2,27,814	29,120	63,376	4,99,122	686	8,20,118

21. Rainfall.—Rainfall has much to do with determining the agricultural condition during the intercensal period. Many other factors as prices, market and freedom from pests like locusts also enter into the successful termination of an agricultural season. The Subsidiary Table VII at the end of the Chapter gives the figures of rainfall in the Mahals of the State since the year 1885. Figures of average rainfall for 35 and 45 years from 1885, as also for the past decade are also shown. In the curve on the opposite page are plotted for the State the figures of annual average rainfall in inches for 1921–30; the lines of normal rainfall and average decennial rainfall are also plotted. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the uncertain and erratic nature of the monsoon in the State. The vagaries of the Indian monsoon are too well-known to be mentioned. It should be only pointed out that a high average does not necessarily suggest a successful season, nor a low average a lean year. What really counts in India is not the average amount of rainfall in a particular locality,

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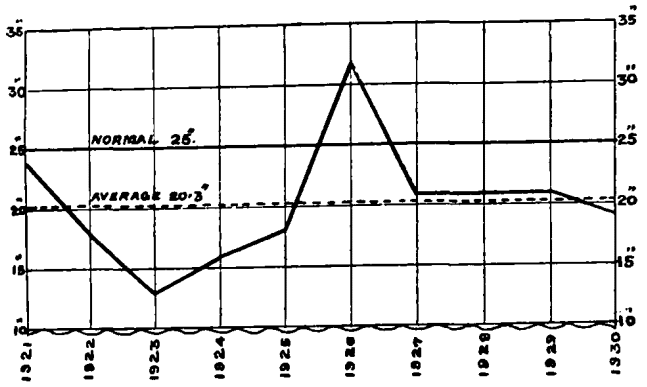
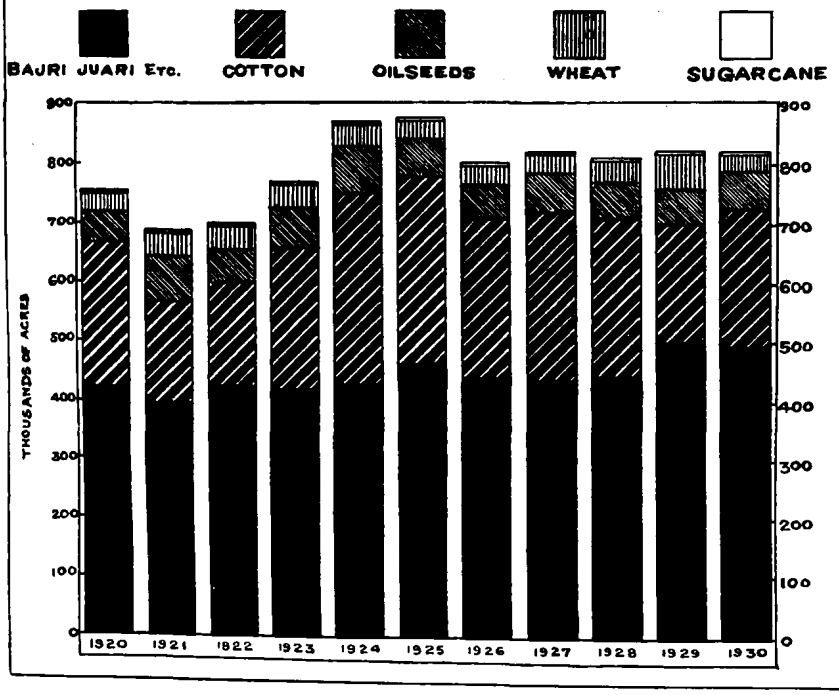
ANNUAL AVERAGE RAINFALL FOR THE STATE
1921 – 1930



TOTAL AREA CROPPED
1920–1930
UNDER



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but the number of effective days which received timely and well-distributed rains. Given this, a successful agricultural season is assured. High amount of rainfall either at the commencement or close of the season without proper rains during the interval will spell disaster to the agriculturist, though some rain is better than no rain. For, a heavy rainfall, even though it does not benefit the *kharif* crops, will eventually prove beneficial by giving the prospects of a good *rabi* season. Years from 1922 to 1925 and the year 1930 were years of low average rainfall, the year 1923 coming the lowest with an average of only 13 inches. During the rest of the years, it rained pretty well above the decennial average. But the former were not necessarily the years of fruitless cultivation. On the contrary owing to the high level of prices during the first quinquennium, particularly during the years 1924 and 1925, the agriculturists were enabled to secure greater returns for their labour. The area under cultivation during these two years correspondingly increased. The years 1921 to 1923 proved to be exceptionally good years. Bumper crops of *juwar* and *bajri* accompanied by a very good wheat crop—both irrigated and unirrigated—in 1921 were followed by a very good yield of cotton, and the cultivators could reap a harvest beyond their expectations. But the bad years of 1923 and 1924 were averted by an extraordinary rise in prices. Despite scanty rainfall which appeared in the June of 1925, and did not turn up afterwards except in the Mahals of Botad, Talaja, and Mahuva, the land yielded a fair harvest, cotton being better beyond expectations owing to the cloudy weather which prevailed for the greater part and kept the young plants alive till the ripening time. Except the year 1930 which was not good in some places, the rest of the decade was on the whole satisfactory and marked by conditions which made good the loss in the growth of one crop from another and rendered cultivation profitable by rise in prices, especially in that of cotton.

22. Irrigation.—Irrigation is one of the factors that facilitate the expansion and growth of agriculture. It enables an increased area of land to be brought under cultivation, and serves to counteract the effects of paucity and irregularity of rains. The result is seen in better and greater amount of produce yielded by the soil and its consequent effects upon the growth of numbers. Well irrigation is the main source of irrigating the land of the State. There are as many as 12,147 wells in the State distributed as shown in the density map facing page 30. Thanks to the very liberal policy of the State in encouraging agriculture, and assisting the *khedut* to ameliorate his condition, loans on easy terms are made to him to dig new wells, and thus to enable him to increase the output of crop. An Irrigation Department has been brought into being since 1928, and various projects for increasing the supply of water have been surveyed. But the absence of rivers with perennial water flow is a great obstacle in the way of successful launching of any useful large-scale scheme of dam irrigation which alone can benefit the agriculturist. The Ramdhari Irrigation Tank has been supplying water to some of the lands in the Mahals of Sihor and Umrala. The marginal statistics show the area of lands irrigated by the tank and the income derived therefrom since 1925.

Year	Area irrigated in Bighas	Income in Rupees
1925	671	982
1926	...	...
1927	780	2,359
1928	685	2,108
1929	1,311	1,599

23. Agricultural Indebtedness.—Seeing that the peasantry of the State was sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of indebtedness, the Darbar appointed in 1922, a committee " to inquire into the problem of agricultural indebtedness and suggest remedial measures which would grant some relief to the Kheduts in their present desperate economic condition and minimise the risks of their being exploited and taken undue advantage of by unscrupulous Sowcars."[1] The investigations of the Committee are embodied in the Report and Evidence Volumes

1. *Khedut Debt Inquiry Committee Report*, p. 5.

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submitted by it to the Darbar. The following statement reproduced from the Report throws vivid light upon the extent and nature of indebtedness in the State :—

Extent of Indebtedness	Number of Khedats	Assessment	Amount of indebtedness	Ratio of debt to assessment payable by the indebted Khedats
Free from debt	**12,325**	**13,13,478**	**...**	**...**
Total Indebted	**22,413**	**25,89,104**	**51,41,418**	**1·99**
A.—Ordinarily indebted	*3,548*	*5,96,464*	*5,91,944*	*0·99*
Indebted in a sum not exceeding one year's assessment	1,750	3,18,115	1,80,532	0·56
Indebted in a sum exceeding one year's assessment but not exceeding two years' assessment ...	1,798	2,78,349	4,11,412	1·45
B.—Heavily indebted	*6,540*	*6,79,162*	*45,49,474*	*6·7*
Indebted in a sum exceeding 2 years' assessment but not exceeding 3 years' assessment	1,303	1,78,311	4,36,770	2·44
Indebted in a sum exceeding 3 years' assessment but not exceeding 10 years' assessment	3,502	3,90,045	20,46,724	5·24
Indebted in a sum exceeding 10 years' assessment ...	1,735	1,10,806	20,65,989	18·6

It was found that 30 per cent. of the *kheduts* were hopelessly involved in debt, and that their condition was such as to give cause for grave anxiety. And so foreseeing the necessity of timely action, if an acute agrarian crisis were to be averted, the Chairman of the Committee, Dewan Bahadur Tribhuwandas, recommended as follows in his Preliminary Minute :—

"(*i*) Where it is possible, endeavours should be made to liquidate the past debts of the Kheduts and for this the co-operation of the merchants should be enlisted.

(*ii*) Where in future suits are filed against Kheduts the law should be so amended as to enable the courts to examine the whole history of the transactions out of which the suit has arisen, in order to find out the additions by way of interest and premium and the manipulations in accounts, and finally to make an equitable award fair to both sides." [1]

But at the same time, he expressed himself in no uncertain terms as to the futility of replacing the Sahukar, referring to whom, he wrote :—

"The whole question is very complicated. The financial relations of the lender and borrower, a very delicate matter always, are involved therein. Kheduts do need the help of money-lenders every now and then. The money-lender is a vital and indispensable factor in the village-economy and the Darbar cannot replace him. In this dilemma, I believe the best course would be to take such steps as are indicated by the needs of the situation, ultimately with a view to restore both parties to their former position of mutual trust and service without exploitation on the one side and victimization on the other. Moreover we cannot connive at and condone the practices brought to light during the Committee's inquiry. If that be allowed, the conditions of the Kheduts would soon worsen and economic ruin overtake the whole class, which would again react on the money-lenders themselves and involve them in heavy losses." [2]

The President of the Council took prompt action to pass the necessary legislation and push forward without the least delay the Debt Redemption Scheme whereby it was proposed to settle private outstanding debts of the agri-

1. *Khedut Debt Inquiry Committee Report*, p. 116.
2. *Ibid.*

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culturists so as to enable the money-lenders to recover a fair proportion of the original principal amount together with a moderate rate of interest. It was a very summary and exemplary piece of legislation of far-reaching consequences, combining imagination with foresight. With one stroke of pen, it embarked upon the noble task of liberating the cultivator from the economic bondage of the money-lender. The investigations into the existing obligations were to be made at the joint request of the *khedutś* and money-lenders, according to the rules framed on the lines of the Deccan Agriculturist's Relief Act, by a special committee, popularly known as the ' Karaj ' committee. At the time of writing this Report, the whole of the Lilia Mahal has been redeemed from all private debts. A sum of Rs. 9,95,463 that was owing to the Sahukars by the agriculturists of that Mahal according to the account books of the former was reduced to Rs. 4,64,559, when the accounts were taken by the Committee. It was, however, the basic principle of the payment made by the Darbar on behalf of the *khedut* that the amount advanced by them on behalf of a particular *khatedar* for compounding all his debts should in no case exceed three times the annual assessment payable by him. The sum thus advanced was apportioned among the money-lenders in proportion to the amount found due to each, in full payment of all existing liabilities of the *khedut*. The application of this rule further reduced the liability of the *khedutś* of the Mahal of Lilia to Rs. 2,61,427 only. Similar work is in progress in the Mahal of Umrala also. This bold and constructive policy cannot but result in great economic improvement of the peasantry of the State. *

24. Co-operative Societies.—Among the factors that tended to promote agriculture during the past decade, the starting of agricultural credit co-operative societies was one. The beginning was first made in the year 1918, but as the legislation then promulgated in this behalf did not embody true principles of co-operation, they were all doomed to failure, and had to be closed. A renewed attempt was made in 1923, when a new enactment based on sound co-operative principles was passed. Since then the societies have shown steady progress. The marginal table tells its own tale and needs no comment. The recent co-operative legislation provides for a loan to the society equal to the amount, but not exceeding Rs. 2,000 raised by it, and a bonus of 20 per cent. on the sum raised within the first two years of its birth. But this generous and liberal offer made by the Darbar has not been fully availed of by the societies. For, had it been so, instead of Rs. 62,907 taken on loan and Rs. 13,297 received as bonus, the 48 societies that are at present working could have got from the State Rs. 96,000 as loan and Rs. 19,200 as bonus. Apart from the conservative nature of the agriculturist all over India which comes in the way of his benefiting by a change in his usual practice, there are other causes also which contribute to this reluctance. The credit co-operative societies enable the *khedut* to a small extent to free himself from the clutches of the usurious Sahukar. His relations with the latter are of long standing, and can neither be shaken off at once, nor dispensed with totally. Circumstanced as he is, the money-lender fills an important gap in

Year	Number of		Working Capital	Reserve Fund	Loan from the State	Bonus from the State
	Societies	Members	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1923	7	286	8,934	...	1,300	...
1924	20	699	48,512	...	17,950	3,275
1925	36	881	74,560	...	20,000	4,013
1926	51	1,252	1,54,592	23,531	24,500	5,000
1927	51	1,299	1,72,365	27,704	5,150	825
1928	46	1,264	1,88,404	35,589	...	...
1929	48	1,285	2,00,411	45,350	...	...
1930	48	1,285	2,10,011	55,203	900	184

*By the time of sending this Report to the press, the *khedutś* of two more Mahals, Umrala and Gadhada, have been redeemed of all their outstanding debts which according to the account books of the money-lenders amounted to Rs. 8,03,321 and Rs. 5,93,443 respectively. The sums paid by the Darbar in full discharge of their debts according to the rules framed for the purpose and after examining the accounts came up to Rs. 2,01,217 for Umrala and to Rs. 1,48,331 for Gadhada.

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the village economy of rural India, and so despite the crushing burden of interest which is charged by him no *khedut* is willing to snap the ties that exist between him and the Sahukar. But recourse to co-operative credit after the peasant is once free from all his past debts owing to the latter, as seen in the preceding para, cannot but result in making him economically independent and prosperous. The promotion of credit co-operative societies is thus one of the means, and by no means an unimportant one, whereby the *khedut* can extricate himself from being exploited by the unscrupulous money-lender.

25. Means of Communication.—Like irrigation, facilities of transport serve to minimise the ill effects of shortage of rain and of famine by acting as a remedial measure. It also encourages the distribution and the consequent movement of population from one place to another. Bhavnagar State owns its own railway which intersects every Mahal of the State. With the exception of a small tract between Mahuva and Talaja it encircles the whole of the State territories. The construction of this piece of railway is also under consideration. It will be seen from the figures on the margin that the total mileage of 217·29 in 1921 increased to 341·75 in 1931. The volume of passenger and goods traffic also shows a significant rise. Though the number of first and second class passengers has considerably dwindled, that of the third class passengers who form the bulk of the travelling public and indicate the real movement of population, has remarkably increased. The goods traffic measured in tons carried has gone up from 2,73,452 in 1921 to 3,94,942 in 1931. The mileage of the various branches is also shown in the marginal table. *Pucca* metalled roads to the extent of 274 miles pass through the Mahals, and cart tracts join one village to another. Still there is much to be desired by way of metalled roads at many places. The expansion of the means of communications, especially the rail roads has greatly facilitated the growth of trade and commerce, and encouraged the distribution and movement of the population of the State, during the past decennium.

	1921	1931
Mileage open ...	217·29	341·75
Metre Gauge ...	217·29	307·01
Tram Line ...	...	34·74
Number of passengers carried	22,59,053	27,58,357
First Class ...	3,470	1,785
Second ,, ...	54,574	30,598
Third ,, ...	22,01,009	27,25,974
Passenger Miles ...	7,85,23,737	7,72,60,882
Tons carried ...	2,73,452	3,94,942
Ton Miles ...	1,95,82,962	2,34,85,185

RAILWAY	Miles
Total ...	**341·75**
Bhavnagar to Wadhwan Junction ...	105·11
Dhola to Dhasa	15·33
Sihor to Palitana	16·92
Dhasa to Kundla	35·80
Botad to Jasdan	33·47
Kundla to Mahuva	47·42
Botad to Dhandhuka	29·94
Rajula Road to Rajula Village and Quarries	5·84
Dungar to Port Albert	7·66
Ningala to Gadhada	9·52
Tram line	34·74

26. Vital Statistics.—The growth of population is ultimately determined by the difference between the numbers born and the numbers who die and by the balance of migration, *i. e.*, the difference between the immigrants and emigrants. The former involves a discussion of the vital statistics which will now occupy our attention. But before analysing the figures of births and deaths and their rates, an estimate of the value of the statistics obtained should be made. The statistics of vital occurrences are anything but complete. This is a drawback which is general and common to all parts of India to a greater or less extent. The proper and complete registration and compilation of all vital statistics is indeed *vital* to any civilized society; and every endeavour should be made to ensure it. Much depends upon the sense of civic responsibility of the people without whose co-operation statistics cannot be accurately recorded. But that this sense has not been sufficiently awakened will be seen by analysing the figures obtained from the Municipality of Bhavnagar City, the greater number of whose citizens are enlightened and educated. As against 7,422 births registered during the period 1921-1930, there are as many as 18,002 deaths, a net loss of 10,580

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lives in the natural population of the City. But this is far from the truth, as the population of Bhavnagar records an increase of 15,131 or 25 per cent. during the past decennium, which is not all due to immigration. The statistics that have been compiled should therefore, be put to a limited and cautious use and no sweeping generalisations should be indulged in. As absolute numbers they should be deemed useless, and should serve the purpose only of instituting comparisons and gauging tendencies. The records tell us that the reports of births are less accurate than the reports of deaths; and that the male births are more readily reported than the female, as the latter are less favourably received than the former.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

COMPARISON WITH VITAL STATISTICS

MAHAL	1921 to 1930 Total number of		Number per cent. of population 1921 of		Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of births over deaths	Increase (+) or decrease (—) of population of 1931 compared with 1921	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths		Natural population	Actual population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bhavnagar State ...	**82,926**	**74,955**	**19·4**	**17·6**	**+ 7,971**		**+73,870**
Bhavnagar City ...	7,422	18,002	12·3	29·8	—10,580		+ 15,131
Daskroi (ex. of Bhavnagar City)	6,427	4,502	25·7	18·0	+ 1,925		+ 6,922
Sihor	6,318	4,709	20·7	15·4	+ 1,609	Not available	+ 3,938
Umrala	5,370	4,111	16·9	13·0	+ 1,259		+ 3,388
Gadhada	5,046	3,708	24·3	17·8	+ 1,338		+ 2,456
Botad	7,643	4,895	26·6	17·01	+ 2,748		+ 7,375
Lilia	5,122	4,177	22·7	18·5	+ 945		+ 2,661
Kundla	15,908	11,371	22·9	16·4	+ 4,537		+ 12,257
Victor	3,895	3,085	18·1	14·4	+ 810		+ 2,966
Mahuva	11,505	10,214	16·07	14·3	+ 1,291		+ 11,703
Talaja	8,270	6,181	18·8	14·1	+ 2,089		+ 5,063

The incompleteness of vital registration will be demonstrated by the Subsidiary Table printed above which institutes a comparison between the increase or decrease in the population of the State as resulting from an excess or deficiency of births over deaths and actual growth of population during the intercensal period. As against a total enumerated increase of 73,870, a balance of 7,971 births over deaths is the result. The peculiar case of the City has already been noticed.

27. The marginal statistics of the birth and death rates during the past decade are given for the State in general and the Mahal of Botad in particular. Originally it was our idea to give the rates for all the Mahals of the State. But it has now been dropped owing to their incompleteness. As it has been found that the births and deaths have been better recorded in Botad than in any other Mahal of the State, their rates have been shown side by side with those for the State for the purposes of comparison. This will be proved by comparing their survival rates during the decade which are 1·8 for the State, and 9·5 for Botad. These

Year	Birth-rate			Death-rate		
	State	Botad	Bombay	State	Botad	Bombay
1921	15	16	32·6	19	13	26·0
1922	15	22	32·4	22	21	23·6
1923	17	25	35·6	16	17	25·9
1924	18	27	35·6	15	13	27·6
1925	18	21	34·7	11	9	23·7
1926	21	29	37·1	19	19	28·6
1927	21	29	36·9	13	15	25·7
1928	22	28	38·2	17	18	27·3
1929	20	32	38·3	21	23	30·5
1930	27	37	37·4	22	23	29·5

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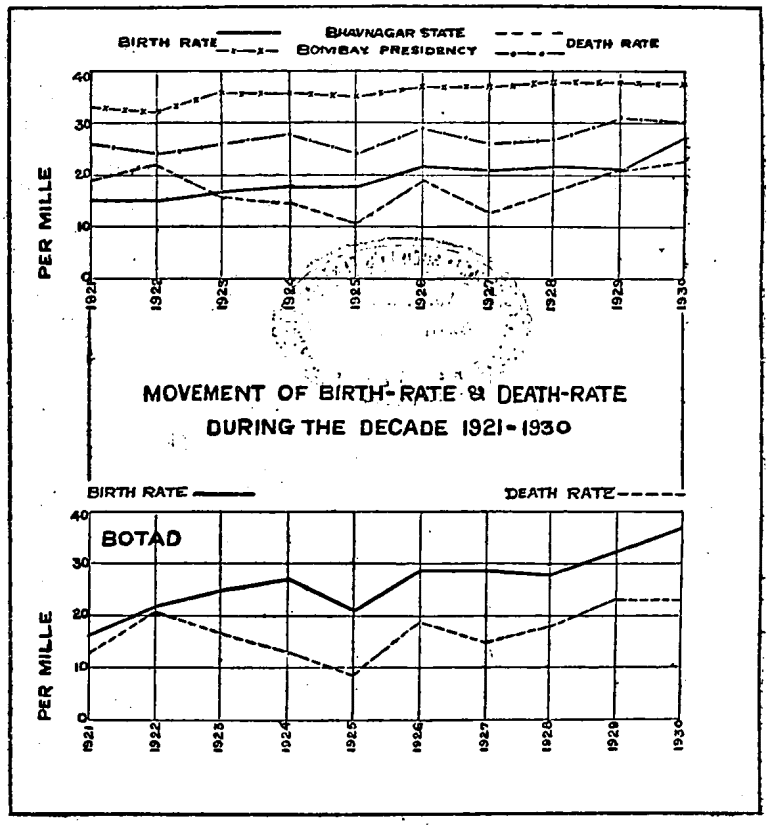
rates are the numbers per mille who are born or die or survive in the population recorded at the Census of 1921. The survival rate represents the difference between the birth-rate and death-rate, and is the mean of the last ten years. The Botad rate makes a fair approach to accuracy. For, while according to the general rate of survival the natural population of the State as it was in 1921 will gain 797 per year, according to the Botad rate it will increase at the rate of 4,047 per year; and the present Census which registers an increase of 73,870, has shown that the actual or total population including the foreign born has increased at the rate of 7,387 persons per year. The Bombay rates[1] have been shown side by side with the State rates in order that a clear idea can be had of the degree of incompleteness of the latter.



28. The foregoing curves show the movement of birth-rate and death-rate during 1921–30 for the State, Bombay Presidency, and the Mahal of Botad. The death curve for the State shoots upwards in 1921, 1922, 1926, 1929 and 1930. The first two years represent the effects of the influenza of 1918 which greatly impaired the vitality of the people, and lowered the birth-rate which has travelled upward only after 1922 since when it has been steadily rising. The relatively higher death-rate in 1929 and 1930 is due to the effects, as will be seen in the following para, of malaria and influenza. The greater accuracy of the

1. Obtained from the Director of Public Health, Bombay Presidency.

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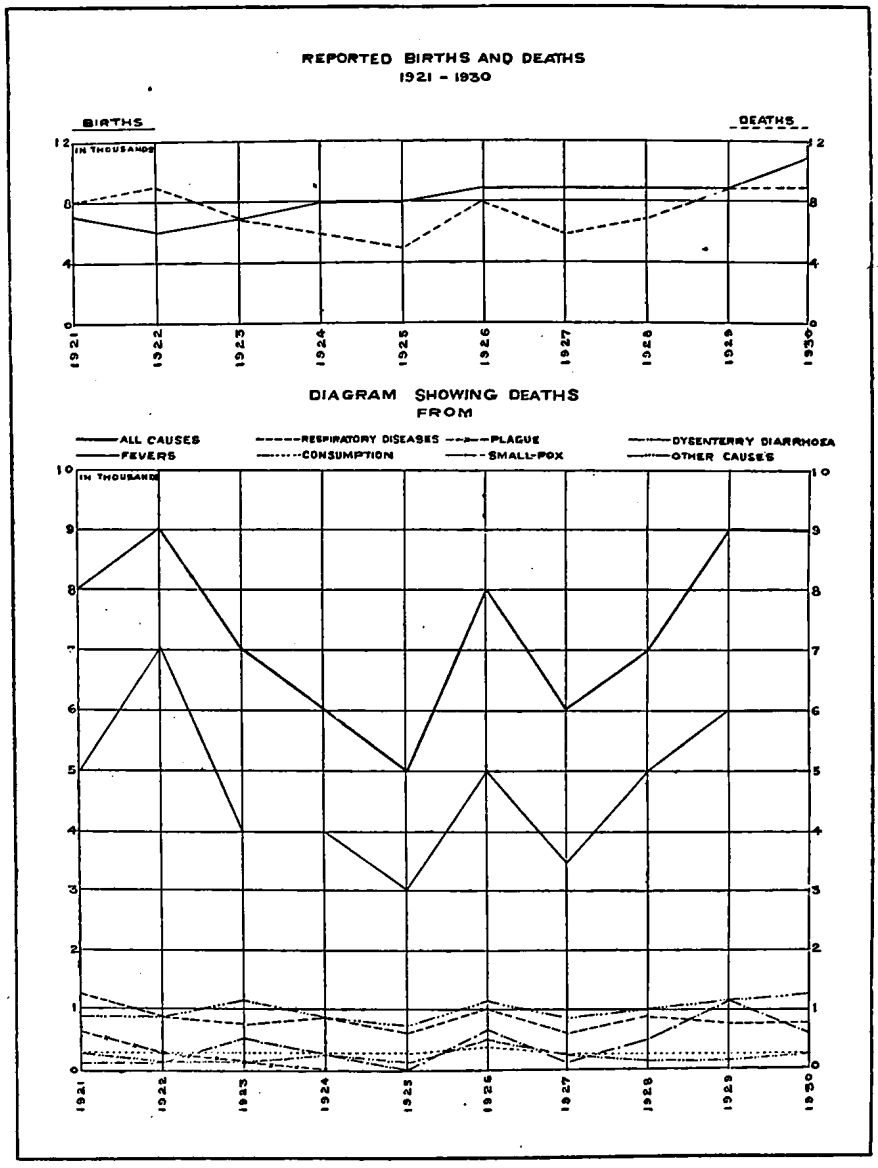

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Botad curves will be apparent from their continuously travelling apart like those of the Bombay Presidency. But this is not the case with the State curves, as they are far less accurate than those for Bombay and Botad.

29. Public Health.—The state of public health during the intercensal period plays no mean part in measuring the growth of the population. Because any disturbance in the health of the people will have very obvious effects upon their fertility and vitality and swing back the pendulum of growth, and result in the reduction of numbers, as was the case after the influenza epidemic of 1918. On the whole the public health was well maintained during the ten years that passed, as checks to population in the form of famine and pestilence did not make their appearance.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

Actual Number of Deaths from Various Causes Recorded in Each Year from 1921–1930

Year	ALL CAUSES		CAUSE OF DEATH							
	Males	Females	Fevers	Respiratory Diseases	Consumption	Plague	Small-Pox	Dysentery, Diarrhœa, etc.	Diseases of Females, *e.g.* puerperal fever, miscarriage, etc.	Other Causes
Total 1921-30	**40,816**	**34,139**	**47,179**	**8,354**	**2,562**	**863**	**3,981**	**2,266**	**411**	**9,339**
1921	4,372	3,693	4,755	1,288	201	564	123	291	23	820
1922	5,273	4,203	7,050	858	267	187	113	178	25	798
1923	3,764	3,108	4,012	758	273	110	448	164	53	1,054
1924	3,346	2,788	3,632	856	229	...	305	228	61	823
1925	2,539	2,136	2,804	676	224	1	44	130	46	741
1926	4,440	3,827	4,793	959	346	...	647	450	47	1,025
1927	3,044	2,568	3,440	678	286	...	88	251	36	833
1928	4,085	3,260	4,649	820	260	1	433	165	45	972
1929	4,952	4,200	5,896	695	247	...	1,111	135	33	1,035
1930	5,001	4,356	6,148	766	229	...	669	265	42	1,238

The relevant statistics of deaths from various causes as recorded in each year from 1921–30 are given in the foregoing Subsidiary Table. Under "other causes" are shown cases of accidents, poisoning, suicide, injuries, as also of other types of illness not specifically mentioned. The diagram on the opposite page shows the curves of deaths from the principal diseases, and all causes combined. The total number of reported births and deaths during 1921–30 are also shown.

The traces of the two epidemics, *viz.*, plague and influenza, which visited the State during the decade 1911–21 may well be noticed first. Influenza which followed in the wake of plague and whose toll of life was simply staggering must have remained with us like the plague in an endemic but milder form after its first virulent attack in 1918. This is amply demonstrated by the curve of the birth-rate remaining low even in 1921–22. But no case of death from this disease has been reported owing to the want of proper machinery for registering deaths which is ordinarily left in the hands of the uneducated village officials. Many of the diseases like influenza, phthisis, etc., therefore, pass off under the more general heading 'fever' which claimed as many as 47,179 lives, out of a total number of 74,955 deaths recorded during the decade. Reported deaths from fever were tolerably high during the years 1922, 1929 and 1930. But plague which it is easier to distinguish from fever than influenza seems to have been properly recorded. It was prevalent during the first three years, and began to wane from 1922. Out of a total of 863 lives which it claimed during the decade, as many as 861 cases belonged to years 1921–23. 8,354 persons were reported to have died from respiratory diseases. Smallpox claimed 3,981, its quota being the highest

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in 1929 and amounted to 1,111. Consumption also claimed a fair number of 2,562. Malaria which is prevalent during the greater part of the year, and more especially during the monsoon was disguised under 'fevers' and not separately registered. Malaria as a cause of death is not of very great importance. On this side of the country, the disease does not prove fatal, as is the case in Bengal, unless other complications in the form of attacks by pneumonia and typhoid fevers supervene. But its indirect effect upon the health of the population is great. It saps vitality, reduces fertility and resisting power of the people, and disturbs the tenor of steady economic development by impairing their physical vigour. Except for the first and last two years of the decade the health of the people seems to have been on the whole satisfactory, and no disturbing element seems to have interfered with an even growth of population.

30. Prices and Wages.—Prices and wages by themselves mean nothing unless they are taken in conjunction with production and demand on the one hand, and the cost, and standard of living on the other. But it is not possible to enter here into all these intricate details. Only the trend of prices and wages during the decade as affecting the mode of living and the growth of numbers will be considered here. Higher prices stimulate production and commercial activity, only if there is a demand for things produced. Lower prices of food stuffs do not necessarily mean cheap living, if the cost of production is not proportionately reduced. For, in modern times when civilization harbours ideas of a higher standard of living by increasing the individual requirements, fall in prices of food-stuffs alone cannot prove profitable. On the contrary, low prices of food-stuffs and other articles of necessity will not benefit an agricultural society, if there is not a corresponding fall in the expenses of cultivation. It will spell nothing but disaster to the agriculturist, if his labours are not repaid by a level of prices sufficient to cover the cost of tilling and leave him a fair margin of profit. Again the trend of wholesale and retail prices is not the same. A fall in the former is not always accompanied by a corresponding fall in the latter. Because retail prices will take some time to adjust themselves to the rising or falling level of wholesale prices. The first half of the decennium was marked by a rise in prices in general which mounted the peak of prosperity in 1925, the year 1924–25 being the year of exceptionally high prices. So far as the prices of food-stuffs and fodder were concerned, there was in that single year a rise of 14 and 15 per cent. respectively. An abnormal rise in the prices of commercial commodities like cotton ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 24 per maund of 40 lbs. and of treacle from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 as also the greater value realised from oil seeds during the six years in the midst of the past decennium greatly enlarged the earnings of the agriculturists. The fall commenced from 1925–26, when the prices began to decline steadily. In some commodities, it asserted the pre-war level of 1914. The October of 1929 was marked by a new and heavy fall in prices, especially of food grains which continued even in 1930. The fall was due to the world conditions which were beyond the control of any country. This alround wave of depression has been attributed to general over-production both of raw materials and industrial products, as also to the insufficient production and unequal distribution of gold for the general requirements of the world as a whole.

With the rise in prices had set in the rise in the wages of skilled and unskilled labour. But the fall in wages was not quick to follow the decline in the level of prices. They showed a remarkable rise upto 1922; and the last mentioned year alone was responsible for an increase of 17 per cent. in the wages of skilled and unskilled workmen. The fall in wages, both skilled and unskilled, commenced since 1923, and continued upto 1928. The daily wages of a carpenter or a mason which had risen to Rs. 2-8 in many places in the Mahals and especially in the City, respectively fell to an average of Re. 1-6 and Re. 1-1. The wages of an agricultural labourer fell from 6-8 annas to 3-4 annas per diem. The wages thus very nearly touched the pre-war level. Looking to the trend of wages since 1921, it is also found that the wages of skilled labour took greater time to fall than those of the unskilled.

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The economic conditions of the period under report were thus on the whole favourable to cheap and easy living, and it was only during the last two years that the heavy slump in prices made it a little less attractive. As compared to 1911-21, when for the greater part of the decade the prices were highly inflated owing to abnormal war conditions, the period 1921–31 was more conducive to the growth of a peaceful community, as lower prices put less strain upon the nerves of the people.

31. The Industrial and Commercial Progress.—After considering the agricultural condition of the period the advancement of trade, commerce, and industries deserves to be briefly surveyed. If the general and agricultural conditions of the decade were on the whole satisfactory, the course of industrial and commercial progress was marked by striking rapidity. During the past decennium, to the existing spinning and weaving mill located at Bhavnagar, another spinning mill was added at Mahuva, due to the impetus given by the post-war period which was characterised by high prices of cotton. The figures on the margin disclose the increasing industrial development of the State in spite of the

PARTICULARS	PLACES WHERE SITUATED		
	BHAVNAGAR		MAHUVA
	1921	1931	1931
Looms	337	727	...
Spindles	19,600	29,138	7,200
Consumption of Cotton	Cwt. 21,343	Cwt. 23,086	lbs. 16,42,811
Yarn produced (lbs.)	8,30,168	22,00,792	12,68,454
Value of the yarn produced in (Rs.)	10,24,738	13,98,878	5,15,310
Cloth produced (lbs.)	14,59,742	28,11,118	...
Value of cloth produced in (Rs.)	24,04,170	25,58,677	...
Average number of mill-hands employed	864	1,245	236

stringency of money market prevailing all the world over. The Swadeshi movement inducing the growth of indigenous industries brought a new life to the goods of Indian make especially in the production of Khadi cloth and cotton piece goods. The New Jehangir Vakil Mills Co. which manufactures cotton yarn and grey and bleached piece goods increased the output of cloth from 14,59,742 in 1920 to 28,11,118 lbs. in 1930, nearly double their former annual production. The number of looms and spindles correspondingly increased from 337 and 19,600 to 727 and 29,138 respectively. The average number of persons employed rose from 864 to 1,245. There are 10 cotton presses, 4 being at Bhavnagar, 2 at Mahuva, 3 at Botad, and 1 at Kundla. Ginning factories are scattered over all the Mahals. Out of a total number of 30, the prospering cotton growing and selling tract of Botad alone possesses 7. Of the remainder, 4 are at Bhavnagar, 6 at Mahuva, 2 each at Rajula, Dungar and Vijapadi, 3 at Kundla, 1 at Lilia, 1 at Madhada, 1 at Dhola, and 1 at Gadhada. In the words of the Administration Report for 1930, this state of increased industrial activities has led to "hand weaving showing signs of a sort of revival for some time past. As a consequence, the gold lace *pachhedis*, silk bordered *dhoters*, and thick covering sheets of cotton cloth known as *chofals* produced by the weavers of Kundla fetch better prices. The stout woollen blankets of Gadhada and the carpets and bed covers dyed in variegated colours produced by the Khatris of Sihor, Umrala and Vartej are more in demand than they were some time ago."[1] On account of the greater demand made upon the hand-made *khadi*, the khadi-making concerns have risen from 3 in 1920 to 11 in 1930. There are also 1,992 hand-looms of which 132 are worked by fly-shuttles, 5,121 spinning wheels, and 293 handgins. The alround progress and revival of home industries during the past decennium will be seen from Subsidiary Table VII in Chapter VIII–Occupation. But at this place, it will be sufficient to note that the *khadi* cloth produced in 1920-21 was only 93,839 lbs. as compared to 3,38,107 lbs. in 1929–30. The number of flour mills was also on the increase, as also that of the oil mills which had gone

1. *Vide* p. 31.

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up from 6 to 10. The pretty wooden and ivory toys which would be the pride of any workman are as popular as ever, and 57 families are engaged in this work of which 25 belong to Mahuva alone. Skill of Sihor coppersmiths in the preparation of brass and copper household utensils and other wares continues to be admirable, and Sihor alone has got 100 families engaged in this industry, out of a total of 194 for the whole State. There are other industries which have got a bright future before them. Kundla prepares iron wares and is specially noted for its scales. The starting of a match factory by an enterprising merchant is under consideration. The salt industry has got great future prospects, as the State has of late been permitted like Okha to export salt to Bengal and Burma by sea. But the present out-turn should be increased and improved upon before this concession can be availed of with advantage. For, the Bengalis who are used to white and refined salt from Lancashire will not readily buy salt from the State *agars* whose salt is mixed with other impurities like gypsum, etc. There is another direction also in which industrial advancement is possible. The Khara soil at Patna has been found to be a good basis for manufacturing soda-ash, bleaching powder, caustic soda, etc. The 18 to 20 square miles of natron soil with almost an inexhaustible supply of underground water and natural advantage of having soda-ash in the crude form direct from the soil can be advantageously utilized, if the initial experiments prove successful. There are two Chemical Works at Vartej in the Mahal of Daskroi which manufacture all kinds of tinctures, liniments, and other pharmaceutical and chemical preparations. The works are supplying medicines to various States in Kathiawar and parts of British India. The Electric Supply Company which started work during the past decade has extended its activities and is supplying motive power to the factories in the City. This state of affairs betokens an era of great industrial development and progress.

32. The commercial advancement of the State has played no mean part in the growth of population during the decennium under report. Its contribution towards the growth of the population of the City of Bhavnagar in particular and the State in general cannot be underestimated. Never has the State of Bhavnagar experienced years of such extraordinary commercial expansion which was fostered and nurtured by the wise and foreseeing statesmanship of its rulers. The Port of Bhavnagar has undergone great transformation, and the facilities of transport in the shape of railway communications, financial help to merchants in the shape of loans on easy terms by the State Bank on the security of goods imported coupled with the advantage of a bonded ware-house have during the past 10 years attracted a considerable amount of trade, foreign and coastal, to its harbour. The Department of Commerce and Industries for the first time brought into being as a trial measure for two years in 1922, was found necessary and useful and made permanent. Large consignments of articles of foreign produce or manufacture like sugar, coal, hardware, haberdashery, glassware, piece-goods, rice, timber, iron, metal sheets, wet and dry dates, paper, etc., are now imported to Bhavnagar *via* Bombay or direct from foreign ports. In 1923–24 only 5 ocean liners visited Bhavnagar, but the close of the decade saw the Port visited by 53 ocean liners of which 18 brought sugar, 11 rice and timber, 3 coal, and 21 iron from the Continent. In addition to the above, the steamer "Skrimer" made 6 trips with coal from Calcutta for the Bhavnagar State Railway. A clear idea of the growth of the sea-borne trade of Bhavnagar during the past decennium, will be afforded by the marginal statement reproduced from the Administration Report, 1929–30. It supplies the figures of the total value of exports and imports during the period 1920–30. The rapid expansion of maritime trade which commenced since 1917 continued unabated during practically the whole of the past decade. If necessary allowance be made for the difference in the level of prices ruling the market at the beginning and end of the past decennium, it will appear that both the export and import trade was steadily on the increase. If the

Year	Value of exports	Value of imports
1920–21	1,70,53,285	2,84,27,171
1921–22	2,86,94,429	3,21,04,991
1922–23	4,03,46,959	2,70,59,761
1923–24	2,43,59,226	2,89,38,623
1924–25	3,48,70,163	2,77,32,073
1925–26	2,35,56,114	2,81,86,471
1926–27	2,01,61,415	2,40,36,121
1927–28	3,88,86,772	3,00,83,241
1928–29	2,99,39,837	3,49,55,364
1929–30	2,00,40,407	2,16,49,922

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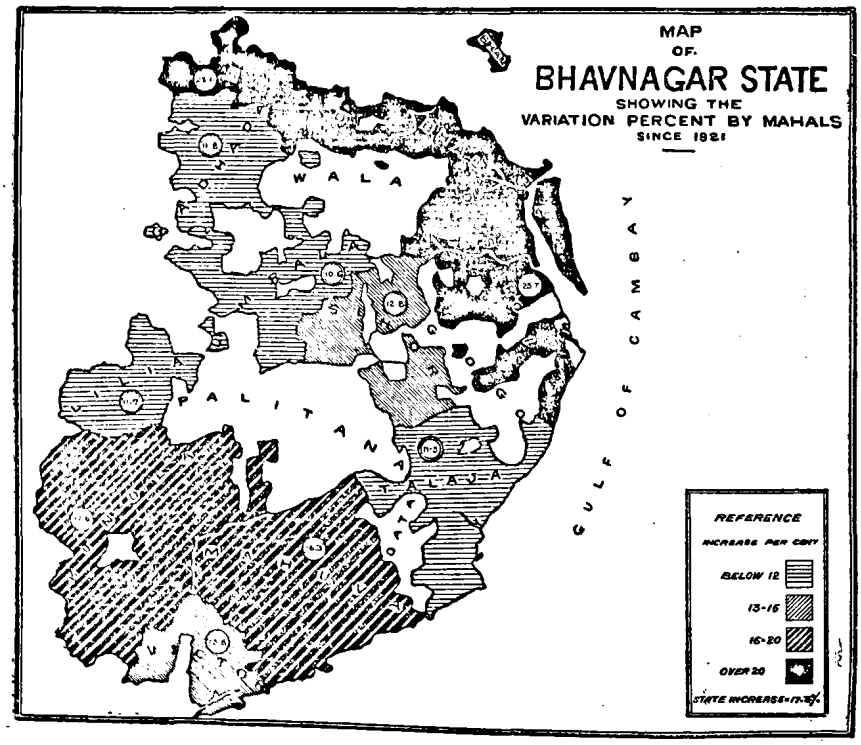
year 1929–30 which was affected by an abnormal fall in the level of prices be left out of account, the imports rose from Rs. 2,84,27,171 in 1921 to Rs. 3,49,55,364 in 1928–29. But the increase will be found to be much more, if measured in terms of commodity as the price level was higher in 1921 than in 1929. The exports also correspondingly increased, the very low figure for 1929–30 being due to the unfavourable cotton season which reduced the export of cotton bales by 101 lacs.

The industrial and commercial activities of the past decennium outlined above were mainly instrumental in attracting a fair number of immigrants to this State, more particularly to the City of Bhavnagar. They account to no mean extent for the growth of numbers revealed at the current Census.

Section IV—Variation in the Population of the State and Mahals

33. Variation during 1921–1931.—Against the background of the general, physical, agricultural, and economic conditions which have been succinctly depicted should be presented the discussion of the changes in the population of the State and Mahals during the past decennium. There is an increase of 73,870 or 17·3 per cent. in the total population of the State as it stood in 1921. The conditions outlined in the preceding paras bear ample testimony to their exhilarating effect upon the growth of numbers during the decade under report. It is a record rise in the State population ever since the commencement of the Census era. No other intercensal period has had the good fortune of registering such a high percentage or numerical rise in the State population. The rise is uniform all throughout the State. The net variation by way of increase during



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the past fifty years comes to 25 per cent. or 99,951 souls. The City of Bhavnagar and the Mahals of Daskroi and Botad have each risen over 25 per cent. Mahuva and Kundla Mahals have risen respectively by 16·3 and 17·6 per cent., Talaja by 11·5 per cent., whereas no other Mahal shows a rise of less than 10 per cent. The diagram on page 21 illustrates the percentage variation in the population by Mahals, from the figures of 1921 adjusted upon the basis of areas as they stood in 1931.

34. Variation in Population by Mahals.—The movement of the State population has been considered. It will now be worthwhile to notice its variation by Mahals. The following Subsidiary Table supplies the figures of percentage variation in the population of the State, City and Mahals in relation to density since 1881.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Variation in Relation to Density since 1881

Mahal	Percentage of Variation: Increase (+) Decrease (—)					Net Variation	Mean Density per square mile					
	1921–1931	1911–1921	1901–1911	1891–1901	1881–1891	1881 to 1931	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BHAVNAGAR STATE	**+ 17·3**	**— 3·3**	**+ 6·95**	**—11·68**	**+16·72**	**+24·96**	**169**	**144**	**149**	**139**	**158**	**135**
Bhavnagar City	+25·02	— 0·38	+ 7·53	— 2·1	+20·63	+ 58·17	2,800	2,239	2,248	2,090	2,135	1,770
Daskroi (Ex. of Bhavnagar City).	+27·62	— 7·6	— 1·3	— 7·2	+ 13·9	+ 23·58	60	49	51	51	55	49
Sihor ...	+12·89	— 0·56	— 0·74	—11·05	+15·91	+ 15·11	175	155	156	157	177	152
Umrala ...	+10·68	— 13·23	+ 4·1	—14·58	+22·56	+ 4·58	164	148	171	164	192	157
Gadhada ...	+11·82	— 5·8	+11·38	—22·37	+ 9·2	— 0·61	122	109	116	104	134	123
Botad ...	+25·62	+ 0·83	+12·37	—10·03	— 5·72	+ 20·73	157	125	124	110	122	130
Lilia ...	+11·76	—11·47	+ 2·32	— 6·76	+ 6·57	+ 0·58	171	153	173	168	181	170
Kundla ...	+17·63	— 2·16	+ 8·18	—18·02	+18·87	+ 20·32	149	126	129	119	146	124
Victor ...	+13·81	— 1·72	+ 0·44	—11·49	+13·37	+ 13·49	172	151	154	153	173	152
Mahuva ...	+16·34	— 3·48	+ 6·92	—12·04	+10·81	+ 37·65	179	154	159	149	170	130
Talaja ...	+11·5	+ 1·5	+ 20·5	— 10·6	+ 15·8	+ 41·13	186	166	164	136	152	131

35. Diagram.—On the opposite page is given the diagram showing the variation in the population of the State and Mahals since 1881. It will help the understanding of the review that follows.

36. Daskroi Mahal.—The fate of the Daskroi Mahal has been mixed up with that of the City of Bhavnagar, whose progressive growth has influenced the movement of its population. The City may well be referred to in brief, deferring its treatment in details to the next chapter. A rise or fall in its population has responded to a rise or fall in the general population, though of course, not to the same extent. Whenever there has been a rise, the City's rise has been greater than that of the State, whereas its fall has been smaller than that of the State. Subsidiary Table IV will clearly illustrate this point. This is due to the growing character of the capital and the greater resisting power of the urban population. Bhavnagar has been an emporium of trade, the growth of its port during the past decade being responsible for an unprecedented rise in its population. During the past decade alone it has grown by 25 per cent., while during the last half a century it has added 27,802 souls or risen by 58 per cent. Excluding the City, the decrease in the population recorded during the decade 1911-21, when it was hard hit by influenza came up to 7·6 per cent. But the resisting power of the people of the Mahal which was greatly impaired since the Chhapania Famine remarkably improved during the last intercensal period when it registered an increase of 27·6 per cent., while the net increase during the last fifty years is found to be 6,102 or 23·5 per cent.

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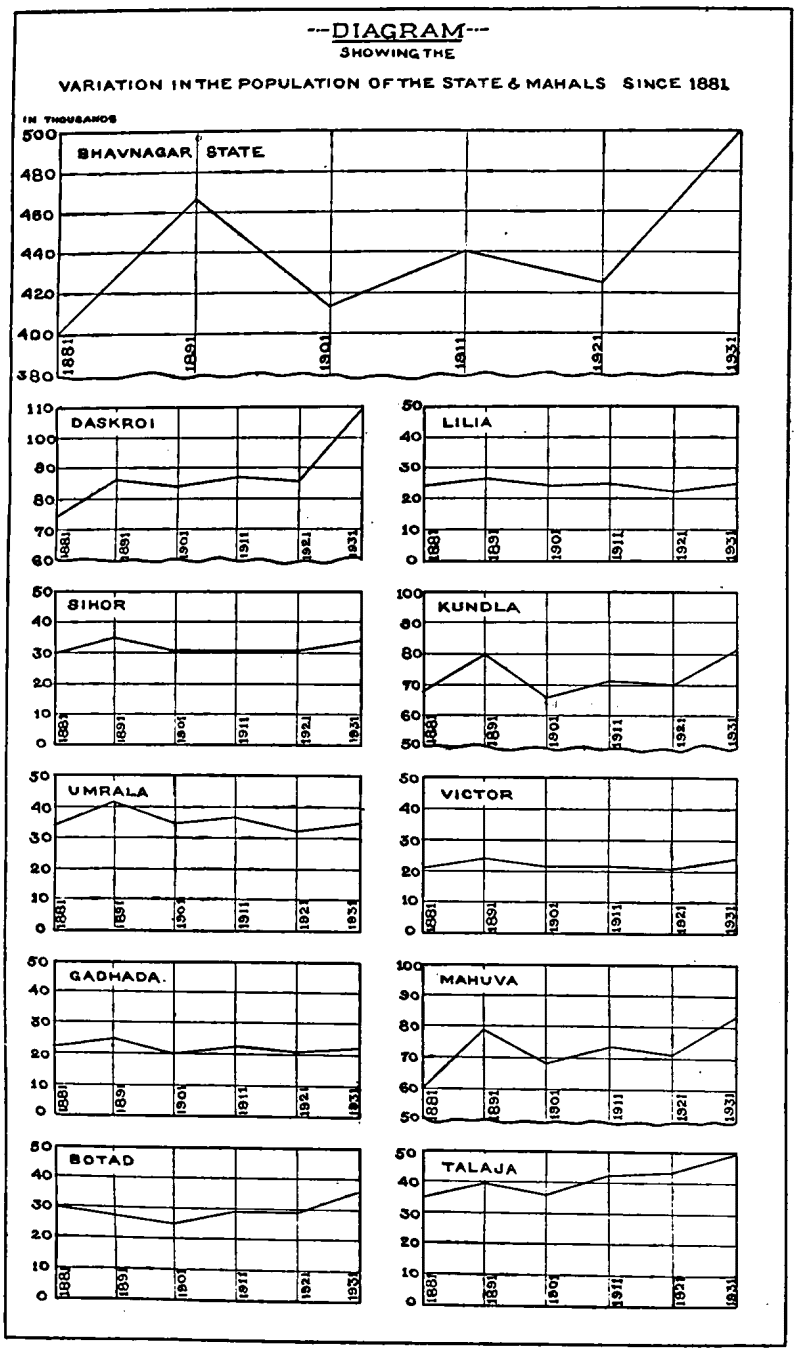

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37. Sihor Mahal.—It is an old Mahal of the State and was once the seat of the Ruling Family before the present capital was founded. During the last fifty years, the population of this Mahal like others that will be considered hereafter reached its zenith in 1891, but suffered a heavy fall in 1901. It has failed to come up to that level even during the present Census when it stands at 34,471 and falls short of it by 313 persons. Since 1891 its population is on the decline, and it was the only Mahal along with Daskroi which showed a fall of 0·74 per cent. in its population, when all the other Mahals of the State recorded varying degrees of progress in 1911. Along side with the effects of famine and plague are to be seen the influences of the migratory tendency of the inhabitants of the Mahal who went out to Bombay and Rangoon and other industrial centres for earning their livelihood. But in 1921 when this outward flow was at its highest throughout the Mahals of the State, and when mortality from influenza greatly reduced the population of some of the Mahals, a very small decrease of ·5 per cent. only was registered in the population of Sihor. In 1931, a rise of 3,938 or 12·8 per cent. is returned, whereas the net gain from 1881 to 1931 is 4,527 or 15·1 per cent.

38. Umrala Mahal.—Like Sihor, Umrala is also one of the oldest Mahals of the State, and enjoyed the favour of being the original seat of the Gohel dynasty of Bhavnagar. It falls in line with Sihor in not coming up to the level of 1891 to a greater extent than Sihor. In that significant year the population of the Mahal was 41,072, upon which the present figure shows a deficit of 5,995 persons. It lost 14·5 and 13·2 per cent. respectively at the Censuses of 1901 and 1921 owing to the Great Famine and influenza. To this should be added a succession of lean years, and reduced fertility of the soil, all of which jointly conspired to reduce the vitality and staying power of the people of this Mahal. But the period 1921-31 sees it successful in regaining much of the lost ground which is covered with an increase of 3,388 or 10·7 per cent. over the population of 1921. The incubus is gradually raising itself, though the effects of the past sufferings are still there, and are visible from the percentage of increase at this Census being the lowest in this Mahal. The net increase in its population is, however, 1,538 or 4·6 per cent. during the last fifty years.

39. Gadhada Mahal.—Gadhada finishes the trio of those Mahals of the Northern Division whose present population shows a decline on the figure of 1891. It seems to have been the most hard hit by the famine of 1900 which must be held responsible for the loss of 22·4 per cent., the highest of all the Mahals, which it suffered at the Census of 1901. But during the breathing period which it gained from 1901-1911, it struggled bravely for a recuperation of 11·4 per cent. Then a loss of 5·8 per cent. from influenza was followed by a gain of 11·8 per cent. at the present Census. A deficit of 2,294 souls over its population as it stood in 1891 and a net loss of 143 for the past fifty years are not a very pleasing spectacle for the Mahal of Gadhada. The effects of 1900 visitations are still there, though they are gradually disappearing. Nature's share in bringing about this result is not small. A series of bad years on account of the failing and decreasing rainfall and a population laid low by the effects of famine have greatly checked an even growth of numbers. The figures of rainfall for this Mahal show very striking results. The average rainfall for the 35 and 44 years from 1885 works out to be 17·13 and 17·78 inches respectively; whereas the average for the past ten years has gone down to 14·7 inches. The soil of this Mahal is in no way inferior, and is in some way superior to some of the other Mahals like Daskroi, and Talaja. But to have good lands is by itself insufficient. For, the prosperity of an agricultural tract is mainly dependent upon sufficiency of rainfall received at required intervals without which unhampered cultivation is not possible. Gadhada has been deprived of this bounty of Nature, and hence the results noticed above. But the opening of the railway line from Ningala to Gadhada, and the tedencies to revival shown by this Mahal at every alternate Census allay to some extent suspicions about the future course of its population.

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40. Botad Mahal.—Botad is now one of the progressive Mahals of the State. The cause for apprehension which it gave in 1891 when it had been singled out for a decrease of 1,714 or 5·7 per cent., and that too at a time when the rest of the Mahals had shown remarkable advance in their population, is removed by the subsequent movement of its population. This departure from a uniform rising tendency exhibited by Botad in 1891 is rather hard to explain away easily. The failure of rains in the year preceding the Census of 1891, when it received only 8·40 inches cannot fully account for this exceptional result submitted at the end of a decade. Want of proper enumeration cannot but have something though not much to do with this deficit. The rising tide is noticeable since 1911, as no area can claim to exclude itself from the ruinous and devastating effects of the Great Famine of 1900. The 1911 Census registered a significant rise of 12·4 per cent., which was continued even during the period 1911-21 which showed a uniform decrease all over the State owing to the heavy influenza mortality. This rise is to some extent due to its favourable position on the Bhavnagar State Railway which had by this time enabled it to develop into a prosperous cotton growing tract. Botad is gradually industrializing itself; and the present Census sees it at the peak of prosperity giving it a very high increase of 25·6 per cent. Its total gain during the last fifty years is 6,208 or 20·7 per cent. and bears out the remark made in the Revision Settlement Report that Botad has adapted itself more strenuously to the changed circumstances with advantage.

41. Lilia Mahal.—The Mahal of Lilia lines itself with some of the other Mahals of the State which have not come up to the population level of 1891. On account of the favoured position which it enjoys as regards soil and the preponderance of Kanbis who are the best cultivating population of the State, it did not suffer so much as many other Mahals of the State during the famine of 1900. The gain of 6·57 per cent. realised in its population in 1891 was, therefore, followed by a nearly equal loss of 6·7 per cent. in 1901. The rich black soil of the Kharopat with its dry and healthy climate seems to have endowed the Kanbis of Lilia with greater resisting and sustaining power. During the decennium 1901-11, there is an insignificant increase of 2·3 per cent. only; whereas the influenza of 1918 brings about a deficit of 2,932 or 11·5 per cent. But the present Census registers an increase of 2,661 or 11·8 per cent. Examining these figures for the last fifty years the net variation by way of increase in the population of the Mahal of Lilia is recorded to be 148 or 0·58 per cent. Over the population as recorded in 1891, a deficit of 1,503 is still to be made up.

42. Kundla Mahal.—In Kundla, the later acquisition of the State, the soil is generally hilly and stony and though adjacent to Lilia does not enjoy the benefit of having fertile soils in some of the villages of the Tappas of Thordi and Vijapadi. It is one of those Mahals which have shown progressive tendencies. It suffered heavily from the effects of the Chhapania Famine which was instrumental in bringing about a decrease of 18·02 per cent. in 1901, which in its turn was preceded by an equal increase of 18·8 per cent. in 1891. But a material rise of 8·2 per cent. at the succeeding Census and a decrease of 2·1 per cent. in 1921 in spite of heavy influenza mortality testify to the greater staying power of the population which is prepondering Kanbi and to prosperous nature of the Mahal. A dry and healthy climate has also had its necessary beneficent effect on the growth of its population. The conjoint effect of these causes has been to give to Kundla a very enviable increase of 17·6 per cent. in its population at the present Census. The growth of numbers has been also promoted by the extension of the Bhavnagar State Railway from Kundla to Mahuva which has enabled the town of Kundla to develop into a flourishing market town and facilitated the disposal of its agricultural produce. Like Botad, though to some less extent, Kundla too has raised itself to the status of an important and growing cotton centre, and possesses a press and ginning factories. The last but not the least of the contributory causes to this happy result are the benefits of a settled and ordered government during the Census era which enable the people to abide in peace and grow. This last factor is not peculiar to Kundla alone, but also holds

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good in the case of the Mahals of Mahuva and Talaja which were harassed by the robbers on the high seas popularly known as *chanchias* and the Kathi outlaws or *baharvatias* on the high roads.

43. Victor Mahal.—The two Tappas of Doongar and Rajula were constituted into a separate Mahal in the year 1881. The changes in the population of these two Tappas, therefore, constitute the history of the movement of population of this Mahal. There is very little to note except that it is one of the two Mahals of the Southern Division which are struggling to raise themselves to the stature of 1891. The present Census shows it to have well nigh, recovered its 1891 position which exceeds the present figure by 136. But there has been a net increase of 2,891 or 13·5 per cent. in the population of this Mahal since 1881.

44. Mahuva Mahal.—The coastal Mahal of Mahuva is one of the highly progressive Mahals of the State. The population of the Mahal which was 60,508 in 1881 has risen to 83,293 in 1931, showing a net variation of 22,785 or 37·6 per cent. within the last fifty years. The causes of decrease, *viz.*, a big famine in 1900 and an influenza epidemic in 1918, are very nearly the same as in the case of other Mahals of the State. Practically the same movement of population is noticeable, a Census of famine followed by a Census of slight increase, and then again a decrease from influenza in 1918. The difference, however, lies in the stamina and resisting power varying with the economic and other conditions of the people. Among the factors that have stimulated the rapid growth in the population of this Mahal should be described the general fertility of soil which with its rich cocoanut and mango plantations has earned for it the title of the 'garden land' of the State; a low pitch of assessment; well distributed and sufficient rain-fall; facilities of railway communications; the convenience of a port helping it to industrialize and commercialize itself; and easily accessible market facilities. To these should be added as in the case of Kundla the sense of security accruing from a beneficent and progressive administration which reacts healthily on the growth of population. The past decennium alone is responsible for a rise of 11,703 souls or 16·3 per cent. in its population.

45. Talaja Mahal.—This is another of the Coastal Mahals which has shown a very striking rapidity of movement in its population. The extent of progress of Talaja is greater than that of Mahuva. For, while the increase in the population of Mahuva since 1881 is 37·6 per cent., that of Talaja is 41·1. It stands next to Daskroi from the point of growth. The march to prosperity commenced after the Big Famine, *i.e.*, during the decade 1901–11, when the percentage of increase variation came up to 20·5. This onward march was characteristically maintained even during the influenza Census of 1921, and like Botad registered an increase of 1·5 per cent., while the rest of the Mahals showed a downward movement. The causes for these rapid strides taken by the Mahal of Talaja are to be sought in its comparative fertility, which of course cannot come on par with Mahuva, sufficiency of rains, and a comparatively low incidence of assessment. It seems to have been the most favoured from the point of rainfall, the averages for this Mahal being the highest for the periods of 35 and 44 years from 1885 as also for the past decennium. They are found to be 25·2, 25·9 and 24·7 inches respectively. Its backwardness and late association with railway communications as not encouraging the emigration of the people may have something to do with the growth of numbers during 1901–11. For whereas during that decennium the percentage variation was 20·5, that during 1921–31 which saw the construction of the Tram Line from Bhavnagar to Talaja came to 11·5 per cent. The existence of a port and a pleasant climate should also be alluded to. It need hardly be reiterated that it has shared in common with Kundla and Mahuva, the blessings of a peaceful rule, harbouring contentment and prosperity which accelerated the movement of their population.

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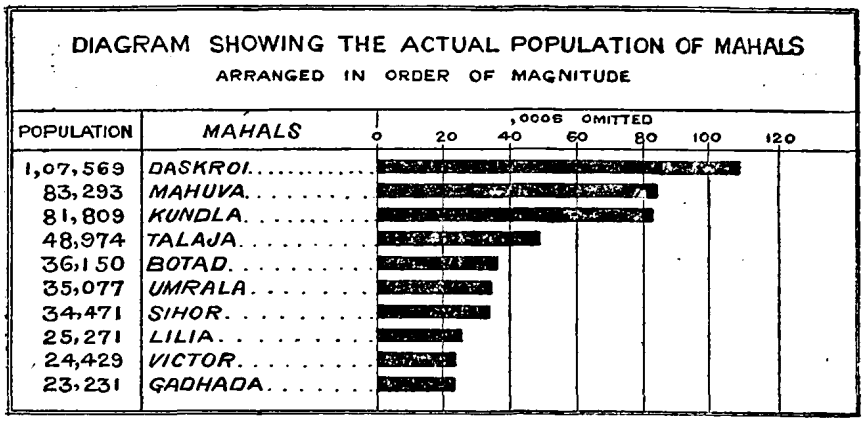
46. Diagram.—The actual population of the Mahals of the State as returned by the current Census is shown below by bars arranged in the order of their magnitude.



Section V—Density

47. By the density of a tract is meant the number of persons dwelling upon a unit area of land, such as a square mile or an acre, assuming it to be uniformly distributed, which is usually not the case. This is what is known as the crude or mean density as distinguished from the spatial density which involves economic considerations to be reviewed later on. The ratio representing the crude density is one of convenience, and its variations within the area under consideration are tacitly assumed. This will be clearly observed from the fact that in one and the same Mahal, the density of different Tappas is not the same. Density serves as an index of pressure which the population of a tract exerts in relation to the similar figures of average density of other tracts. The area of the State of Bhavnagar is 2,961 square miles or 18,95,040 acres of land, and assuming uniform distribution, the average density of the State is 169 persons per square mile or 3·77 acres per person.

48. Density of Other States Considered.—It will be instructive to examine here the figures of area and population of some of the States in Western India States Agency, and other Indian States and Provinces in British India. But such a comparison can be best instituted by examining their varying densities. The relevant statistics are shown in the margin. Among the Kathiawar States, the State of Cutch stands first with an area of 8,249 square miles. Then follow Nawanagar and Junagadh with their respective areas of 3,791 and 3,337 square miles. Bhavnagar is fourth with an area of 2,961 square miles. But from the point of mean density the State of Palitana which has an area of only 300 square miles tops the list with 207 persons to the square mile. Gondal is second with 201 persons per square mile. But among the rest with larger areas Bhavnagar occupies the favoured position with

State or Province	Area in square mile	Population	Density per sq. mile
Bhavnagar ...	*2,961*	*5,00,274*	*169*
Junagadh ...	3,337	5,42,152	163
Cutch ...	8,249	5,14,307	62
Nawanagar ...	3,791	4,09,192	108
Gondal ...	1,027	2,05,846	201
Palitana ...	300	62,150	207
Western India States Agency	35,442	39,99,250	113
Baroda ...	8,164	24,43,007	299
Bikaner ...	23,367	9,36,218	40
Gwalior ...	26,367	35,23,070	134
Travancore ...	7,625	50,95,973	668
Cochin ...	1,480	12,05,016	814
Hyderabad ...	82,698	1,44,36,148	174
U. Provinces...	1,12,191	4,96,14,833	442
Central Provinces and Berar.	99,920	1,55,07,723	155
Bombay Presidency with States ...	1,51,593	2,62,71,784	173
India ...	...	35,28,37,778	196

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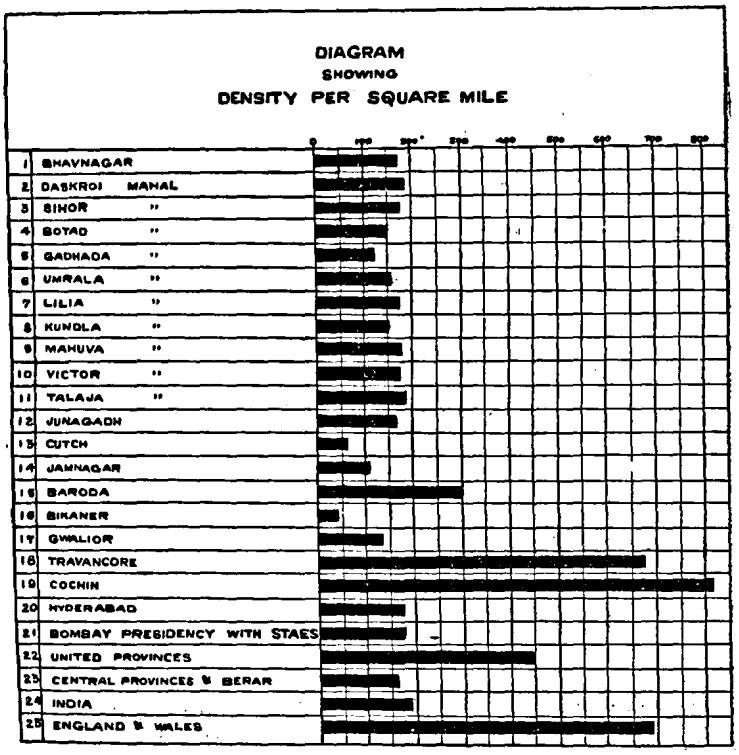
a density of 169 persons to the square mile. The respective densities of Junagadh and Nawanagar are 163 and 108, but the density of Cutch is 62, the lowest of all the Kathiawar States noticed above. But the mean density of the Western India States Agency is found to be 113. Similar statistics for other Indian States are interesting. The Southern India States of Cochin and Travancore have 814 and 668 persons per square mile respectively. The crude density of 814 for the State of Cochin whose area is only 1,480 square miles is certainly very high. But the premier Indian State of Hyderabad has got a density of only 174 persons per square mile which comes very near to that of this State. Baroda is fairly dense with 299 persons to the square mile. But the States of Gwalior and Bikaner which come next to Hyderabad from the point of area have a density of 134 and 40 persons respectively. The areal density of England according to the Census of 1931 is 685 persons to the square mile, and that of Belgium 686. But the density of the vast Indian Continent is 196 persons to the square mile.

The foregoing statistics can be best understood from the following diagram which compares the density of the State with those of other States, Provinces, and England and Wales. The Mahal densities are also compared.



49. Variation in Density.—The factors that contribute to density have been very aptly summed up by Conrad:—

"In former times, the growth of numbers was chiefly determined by the productiveness of land. The growth of civilization, which implies mastery over nature in a higher

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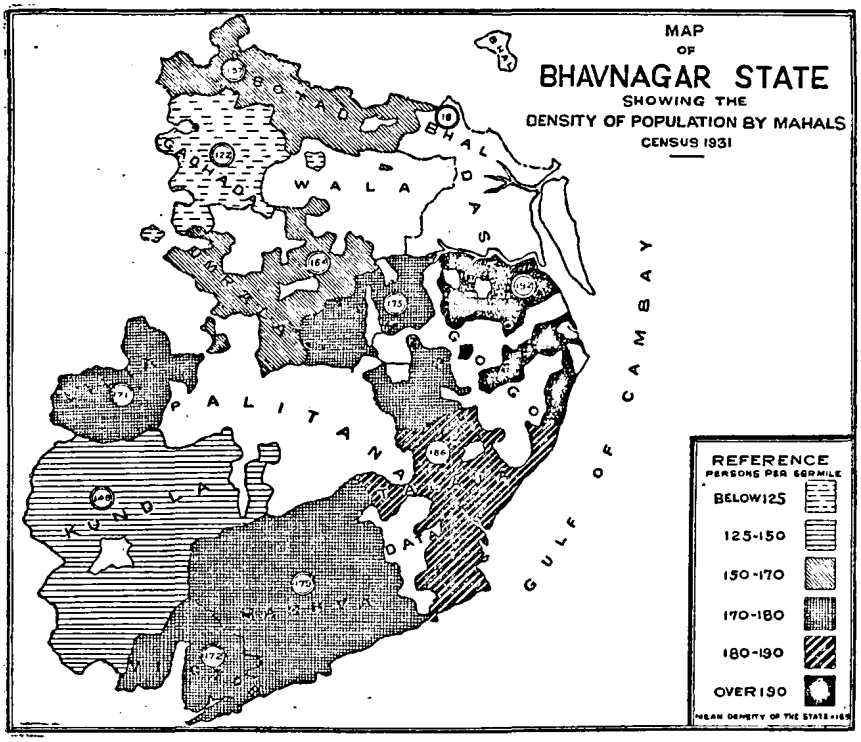
degree, and the development of industry and trade, make it possible to become independent of agricultural conditions, and cause a heavy density of population also in places poorly endowed by nature. The great increase of population among modern civilized peoples is due to the growth of trade and industry."[1]

Different sets of causes combine to determine the density of a tract. The factors that generally influence the density of an agricultural locality are the fertility of soil, adequacy of rainfall, configuration of the surface, sanitation or climate and to some extent the incidence of land tax. The last two, however, do not play so important a part as the first two, as the proverbial attachment of the Indian peasant to his ancestral home renders him immobile, and makes him stick to it even under adverse circumstances. As regards an industrial centre, the set of circumstances that will operate to make it dense will be the opportunities for employing one's self profitably, facilities of transport and communications, and a prosperous trade and thriving commerce. The flourishing City of Bhavnagar is a striking instance to this point. The density of the City which was 1,770 persons to the square mile in 1881 rose to 2,800 in 1931.



50. As in the case of the State, so in the case of the City and Mahals, density has responded to a rise or fall in the population at each successive Census. The above map illustrates the varying densities of the Mahals of the State. Roughly speaking the Coastal Mahals are denser than all the rest except Lilia and Sihor, the Mahal of Daskroi being the densest. Its high density is due to the inclusion of the populous City of Bhavnagar. The Bhal forms a Tappa of the

1. *Statistiks, Erster Teil*, p. 81. Quoted by Prof. Brij Narain in his *Population of India*, p. 62.

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Daskroi Mahal, but it has been purposely kept blank to show its sparseness. Because it will be hardly fair to attribute the denseness of the whole Mahal which contains 192 persons per square mile to a part which contains only 18.

The effect of the fertility of soil is noticeable in the Lilia Mahal. Net variation in its increase since 1881 is 20·7 per cent. compared to 58 per cent. for Botad and yet it is denser than the latter. Even with all this e xpansion duing recent years the mean density of Botad comes up only to 157 persons per square mile; whereas the density of the fertile Mahal of Lilia is 171 and was 181 in 1891. Similarly the combined effect of fertility and of inadequacy of rainfall upon the density of a locality is vividly illustrated by the Mahal of Gadhada which has been continuously subjected to decreasing rainfall. From the point of net variation since 1881, very little difference in the population of the Mahals of Gadhada and Lilia is found. For, while the former registers a net increase of 143 souls, the latter shows a deficit of 148. But the differences in their densities are very great. The lowest density of Gadhada is found to be 104 in 1901, and that of Lilia to be 153 in 1921;whereas their highest densities were 134 and 181 respectively in 1891. These two Mahals which show very little divergence in the net variation of their population, point out to a very striking divergence in the figures of their mean densities, owing to differences in climatic and soil conditions. The same phenomenon operates to its logical extent in the salt flat of Bhal which is totally unhealthy and unfit for cultivation.

51. Again the striking connection between rainfall and density will be seen from the margin which gives the figures of density and of the decennial average rainfall of each of the Mahals. The order of Mahals according to rainfall more or less follows the same order as that of density, with the exception of the Mahal of Daskroi whose density is in the main affected by considerations other than those of rainfall, as it includes the figures for the City of Bhavnagar. So barring Daskroi, Talaja which is the first from the point of rainfall is the first also in the order of density, and Gadhada which is the last from the point of rainfall is the last also in the order of density. Mahuva, Sihor and Victor maintain the same order both in respect of rainfall and density; but not the remaining Mahals. For, the Mahals of Lilia, Umrala, Kundla and Botad whose decennial averages vary from 19·03 to 19·63 inches change places amongst themselves and do not follow exactly the same order as rainfall. Lilia which is eighth from the point of rainfall naturally stands fifth from the point of density owing to its greater fertility. But this variation only cautions us against assuming any the closest relation between rainfall and density. Because a high rainfall in the hills of Mitiala or the salt flat of the Bhal will not by itself affect their density. Nor will fertility avail itself in the absence of adequate rainfall. What really matters is a fertile soil, accompanied by timely rains well distributed over the season. It is the total number of effective rainy days properly spread over the monsoon that counts. Either the fertility or rainfall alone will not explain the phenomenon of a greater or lesser density. To these must also be added the factors of the proportions of the cultivable area to the total, and of the cultivated area to the cultivable, all of which combine to make up the environment of a locality and determine its density.

MAHAL	Average Rainfall 1921-31	Order according to rainfall	Density	Order according to Density
Daskroi ...	21·29	...	192	...
Sihor ...	21·63	3	175	3
Botad ...	19·30	7	157	7
Gadhada ...	14·73	9	122	9
Umrala ...	19.63	5	164	6
Lilia ...	19·03	8	171	5
Kundla ...	19·53	6	149	8
Mahuva ...	24·13	2	179	2
Victor ...	20·30	4	172	4
Talaja ...	24·73	1	186	1

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52. Subsidiary Table VIII at the end of the chapter shows that in the same Mahal, the population is not uniformly distributed over all the parts. In one and the same Mahal, places with divergent densities are to be found. The Table gives varied distribution of the population classified according to density for the State as a whole and each of its individual Mahals. It shows for each unit the area and the population inhabiting that area falling under that particular class of density. Below are given in italics, the percentages that the area and the population of the unit bear to its total area and population. Below the density class 'under 50' comes the Mahal of Daskroi which contains the Tappa of Bhal whose mean density is 18 per square mile with an area of 302 square miles and a population of 5,465 persons. At the other end of the density ladder under the class, '451 and over,' is the area of 87 square miles appropriating to itself a population of 87,881 persons. Nearly three-fourths or 75 per cent. of the area and population of the State are distributed under places with density varying between 101 and 250 persons to the square mile. This variation in density in one and the same Mahal will be clearly understood from the opposite map which shows density by Tappas.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Actual and Proportional Variation in the Population of Tappas Classified according to Density at the Commencement of Each Decade since 1901

(a) Actual Variation

STATE	Decade	Variation in Tappas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of							
		Under 50	51 to 100	101 to 150	151 to 200	201 to 250	251 to 300	301 to 450	451 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BHAVNAGAR	1901–1911	+ 128	— 12,082	+ 22,862	+ 15,664	+ 14,424	—17,871	— 567	+ 3,245
	1911–1921	— 2,799	+ 3,838	— 677	— 33,217	+ 26,510	—11,414	— 428	+ 1,232
	1921–1931	+ 2,955	—29,043	— 7,490	+ 35,928	+ 23,055	+29,296	+ 4,197	+ 16,972

(b) Proportional Variation

STATE	Decade	Variation in Tappas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of							
		Under 50	51 to 100	101 to 150	151 to 200	201 to 250	251 to 300	301 to 450	451 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BHAVNAGAR	1901–1911	+ 2·5	— 22·8	+ 17·9	+ 16·6	+ 175·5	— 61·02	— 2·0	+ 4·9
	1911–1921	— 52·7	+ 9·3	— 0·45	— 29·4	+ 117·08	— 100	— 1·5	+ 1·8
	1921–1931	+ 117·7	— 64·7	— 5·01	+ 45·0	+ 46·9	...	+ 15·2	+ 23·9

53. The two foregoing Subsidiary Tables show the actual and proportional variation in the population of the State by Tappas classified according to density since 1901. The numerical and percentage variation in the total population as it fell under the different density groups varying from 'under 50' to '451 and over' at each successive Census is given. At the present Census the highest increase in numbers (35, 928) is shown under Tappas with density between 151 and 200; whereas the highest percentage increase (117) is shown under Tappas with density under 50. The areas with the density from 201 to 250 and '451 and over' are marked by a continuous rise in their popula-

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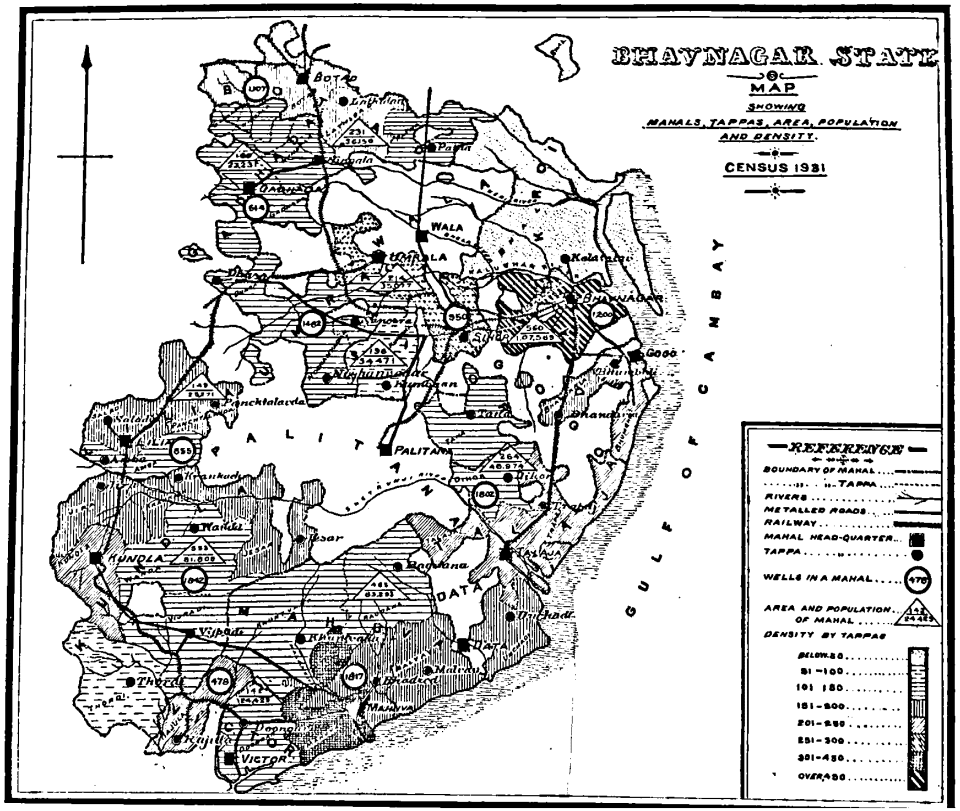

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tion ever since 1901. During the past ten years, all density groups except the two with density from 51 to 100 and 101 to 150 show increase in their population. This points to the tendency of the population to shift towards as well as to grow in higher density groups.

SECTION VI—HOUSES AND FAMILIES

54. 'House' has been defined in the Census Code as a "building or part of a building inhabited by one family, that is by a number of persons living together and eating together in one common mess, with their dependants and resident servants." This is the social type of a house, and differs from the structural type which formed the basis of house-numbering before 1911. The former represents a household or a commensal family, and is adopted for its simplicity and ease of application. This definition was universally observed throughout the State except the City of Bhavnagar where some modifications had to be made owing to its industrial character. The structural house, on the other hand, is the residence of one or more families having a separate independent entrance from the common way. This definition, if completely adopted in the City, will form the basis of a tenement Census which will yield very important results regarding the nature of dwelling, the amount of space available for the accommodation of a family, and the number of persons inhabiting each particular type of house. For rural areas the social type of the house as defined above is very convenient and useful.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

PERSONS PER HOUSE AND HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE

MAHAL	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE					AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE				
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bhavnagar State ...	4·6	4·3	4·3	3·9		36·9	33·3	34·5	40·3	
Bhavnagar City ...	4·3	4·0	3·9	4·0		655·7	560·3	573·6	522·9	
Daskroi. (Ex. of Bhavnagar City) ...	4·7	4·1	4·3	3·8		12·7	11·3	14·5	15·8	
Sihor	4·5	4·3	4·3	2·5		38·7	36·1	36·3	63·8	
Umrala	4·4	4·4	4·6	4·5		36·7	33·3	37·4	36·6	
Gadhada	4·6	4·2	4·2	4·2		26·6	26·1	27·4	25·1	
Botad	4·9	4·4	4·2	4·1		32·2	28·4	29·2	27·0	
Lilia	4·4	4·4	4·7	2·6		38·5	34·8	35·4	65·9	
Kundla	4·7	4·4	4·4	2·5		31·7	28·5	29·4	43·1	
Victor	4·4	4·4	4·2	2·8		38·7	34·6	36·3	54·0	
Mahuva	4·6	4·4	4·4	4·2		39·2	35·4	36·7	35·7	
Talaja	5·0	4·6	4·5	4·1		37·1	36·2	30·9	28·6	

Not available

Not available

55. Variation in Houses.—In the above Subsidiary Table are given the figures of the average number of houses per square mile since 1901. The figures for the 1901 Census should not be taken into consideration, as the type of house then adopted was given up for the social type in 1911, since when the definition has not undergone any change. For the purposes of comparison, therefore, only the statistics from 1911 to 1931 should deserve our attention. It will be observed that the rise or fall in the number of houses per square mile has been accompanied by a sympathetic increase or decrease in the population of the State at each Census. The past decennium has seen the increase of 108 houses upon every thousand houses that were returned as occupied in 1921. This is a rough indication of the growing prosperity of the people who will think of having more houses only when they are doing better materially. An examination of the figures for the City of Bhavnagar which have risen from 560·3 in 1921 to 655·7 houses to the square mile in 1931, an increase of 169 per mille of occupied houses, points to the same conclusion. It shows the extent to which the City has flourished during the past decade. This tendency is also observable in the individual Mahals of the State.

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Like the average number of houses per square mile, the average number of persons per house is also on the increase. Here too, as in the case of the former, the figures for 1901 will be left out of consideration. The average number of persons per house remained the same at the Censuses of 1911 and 1921. But in 1931 it rose from 4·3 to 4·6 persons per house. The rise is noticed all over the Mahals of the State. The averages for the Mahals of Botad, Kundla, and Talaja are above the State average and suggest that the conditions as prevailing in these tracts were favourable to the healthy growth of population.

56. This leads to the consideration of that more important problem, the break-up of that socio-economic institution, the joint family. If a hasty judgment is hazarded after a casual glance at the figures as they are, the increase in the number of persons per house from 4·3 to 4·6 will appear to suggest that the family ties are strengthening and are held more sacrosanct than before. But that is not really so. Since the number of occupied houses in the State roughly corresponds to the number of families living and eating together, it will be proper to institute a comparison between the number of occupied houses and the number of married females aged 15 and over, and discover, if the forces of disintegration have appeared on the scene. The females less than 15 years old have been excluded, as it is only after that age that a wife will come into her own, and will be in a position to have a willing ear of her husband. It is the age when she begins to feel the boredom of dependence upon a quarrelsome mother-in-law, militates against her oppression and authority and tries to assert herself by separating from the joint family. The marginal table shows a pretty good divergence between the number of married females aged 15 and over and the number of occupied houses. The proportions of occupied houses to 100 females aged 15 and over are 74·6, 98·4, and 77·4 for the years 1911, 1921 and 1931 respectively. The ratios of 1911 and 1931 alone can be compared, as the 1921 ratio belongs to an abnormal intercensal period which was marked by selective influenza mortality, particularly among the women of child-bearing ages. The reduction of numbers in their ranks would, therefore, raise the proportion of occupied houses to 100 females aged 15 and over. And so the comparison of the proportions of 1911 and 1931 with 1921 can serve no useful purpose. But when the figures for 1911 are compared with those for 1931, it is seen that the number of houses is higher in 1931 than that in 1911. While in 1911 74·6 per cent. of the married females above the age of 15 held separate establishments, the corresponding proportion for 1931 rose to 77·4. And the extent of variation is an index to the extent to which the forces of fission and disruption have told upon the joint family. The system does not seem to have found the same degree of favour as it used to do before; and the tendency which has now set in, may assert itself with greater force in the decade to come. It is not possible in this Report to dwell upon the various causes and effects of the motives underlying this phenomenon. Suffice it, therefore, to say that the bonds that formely held the members of a family together are gradually loosening. But the disruption of the family ties is not such as to create any grave apprehension for their total disappearance in the near future. For, the joint family still rules the major portion of the field, and it will take many years before the institution suffers a complete break-down. As will be seen from the marginal statistics, the jointness of the family is more liable to be shaken in towns than in villages. While the proportion of houses per cent. of married females aged 15 and over is 76·8 in the case of the State excluding the City of Bhavnagar, that for the latter comes to 80·3. This is due to the fact that the village economy of the rural areas based as it is on the co-operation of the members of a family on whose joint participation depends the success of agricultural operations, has offered little scope for the appearance

Year	Number of married females aged 15 and over	Number of occupied houses	Proportion of occupied houses to 100 such females
1911	1,36,965	1,02,282	74·6
1921	1,00,430	98,921	98·4
1931	1,41,139	1,09,261	77·4

Locality	Females aged 15 and over	Proportion of inhabited houses to 100 such females
State excluding the City	1,19,096	76·8
City ...	22,043	80·3

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of disruptive tendencies. But the urban atmosphere with a greater number of the educated and professional men who are prompted to keep a higher standard of life and desire to do something by themselves and theirs, favours the growth of dissolving factors.

57. Summing up.—It will now be worthwhile to sum up the conditions prevailing during the past decennium which have given such an unprecedented rise of 17·3 per cent. to the population of the State. "In order to increase and multiply man must have certain essential conditions—water, food, clothing and shelter, a climate not fatally unhealthy and sufficient security of life and property to make it possible for him to settle and abide."[1] The existence and operation of these conditions have been reviewed in the preceding pages. It has been seen that the circumstances as obtaining during the past decade were fovourable to the natural and actual growth of the population of the Bhavnagar State. The natural growth resulting from an excess of births over deaths was stimulated by the general, economic and agricultural conditions of the decade. No epidemic like influenza and plague which hampered the even growth of population during the previous decade made its appearance. Public health was maintained at a fairly high level. Notwithstanding the annual average rainfall of some of the middle years being much below the normal, the results of agricultural operations were on the whole conducive to the general well-being of the people. The first three years were good beyond the expectations of the *khedut* and the deficiency of the subsequent two years was made up by an extraordinary rise in the level of prices, especially of cotton. The decade also saw the rebirth of the credit co-operative societies, and the successful operation of the Debt Redemption Scheme in the Mahal of Lilia. The industrial and commercial advancement was still more rapid. The import trade expanded enormously during the intercensal period. It was instrumental in drawing to the City people from outside and increasing the total population of the State. The benefits of a well-governed and beneficent administration cannot be minimised. For, the sense of security to person and property which it engenders in the minds of the people has a very wholesome effect on the growth of numbers. The last but not the least was the returning ebb of those persons of the State who had been induced to move to commercial and trading centres like Bombay and Ahmedabad during the war-time. The artificial prosperity which characterised the post-war boom period had disappeared with the growing maladjustment between production and consumption. During the second quinqennium of 1921–31 prices were falling off and suffered a sudden collapse in October 1929. Trade depression and unemployment that followed became still more acute as a result of the unfavourable political situation of the country. Only the cotton mill industry flourished. But prosperity in one trade was not sufficient to compensate for the loss of employment in others. The economic condition of the cities was thus going from bad to worse under the growing stress of unemployment. People, therefore, thought of going back to their native places, where the joint family system with its common messing and living under a common roof made for less expensive life. These considerations materially influenced to send the unemployed malcontents back to their homes and swell the numbers of the native population. And in this, Bhavnagar too, had its quota.

58. The Probable Future Trend of the Population.—The causes responsible for the highest rise both from the point of percentage and numbers in the total population of the State have been summed up. As has been seen, the population during the past nine years, eleven months, and eight days has increased by 73,870 souls, or 17·3 per cent. Taking the arithmetic mean, the average annual increase during the intercensal period comes to 7,458 persons. But this is not actually the case, because the population of a tract will not increase uniformly from year to year. The geometrical method of calculating the mean increase during the intercensal period suggested by Whipple is worked

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 5.

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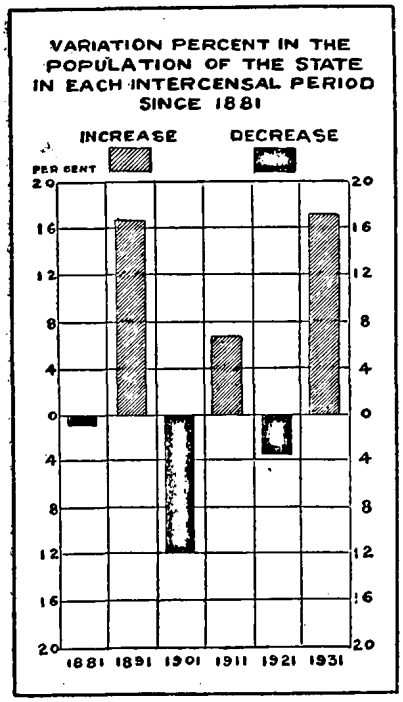
out in the foot-note[1]. While the increase (1·7 per cent.) according to the arithmetical method is higher during the intercensal period, that during the postcensal period is higher according to the geometrical method, whereby the population of the State will increase at the rate of 1·6 per cent. per annum.

The question that now confronts us is: what then will the probable future trend of the population of the State of Bhavnagar be? Will the extraordinary rapid movement which has been observed during 1921-31 be continued during the next decennium? Will the Census of 1941 be fortunate enough to register the same degree of rise? It is not possible to give an unqualified answer to these questions. But before making any such attempt, the times and circumstances which will form the background of the next Census should be mentally pictured. A reference must also be made to the past history of the Census in the State, and consequently to the past movement of its population at each successive Census.

As the curve oppsite page 22 and the marginal diagram illustrate, the movement of the population of the State has been characterised by an alternate rise and fall in the population of the State. After the taking of the first Census in 1872, the population curve goes down in 1881, 1901 and 1921, and rises up in 1891, 1911, and 1931. An increase in the State population at one Census has been invariably accompanied by a fall at the other. The past history of the movement of the population would, therefore, seem to suggest that the same even growth of the population is not likely to continue during the coming years. It may perhaps be that a high percentage rise at this Census may not be accompanied by an equally high fall in the population. It is equally likely that the population may show a rise rather than a fall, unless some epidemic confronts the population to fulfil the Malthusian prophecy and checks it from growing beyond the means of subsistence. But there are other directions from which the checks to the growth of population may be administered. Among the social factors that may operate, though not to a great extent, to restrict the growth of population in the current decennium should be counted the Child and Old Age



1. *Vital Statistics*, p. 133. The formula for geometrical increase runs as follows :—

$$Pn = Pc\,(1+r)n$$

In which Pc is the population at one census, Pn is the population, n years after Pc, r is the annual rate of increase and n is the number of years. Here Pc is 4,26,404, Pn 5,00,274 and n is 10 years.

$$\text{Log } Pn - \text{Log } Pc = n \log (1+r).$$

Substituting the value of the logarithms of 5,00,274 and 4,26,404 and the value of n, we have :—

$$5{\cdot}6992 - 5{\cdot}6298 = 10 \log (1 + r)$$
$$0{\cdot}0694 = 10 \log (1 + r)$$
$$0{\cdot}00694 = \log (1 + r)$$

And from the tables of logarithms (1+r) is found to be 1·016, hence r = 1·016 — 1 = ·016, or 1·6 per cent.

The annual average rate of increase between 1921 and 1931 was 1·6 per cent.

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Marriages Prevention Act of 1930, passed by the Darbar fixing the minimum ages at marriage for boys and girls respectively at 18 and 14, and prohibiting the marriage of a man past the age of 45 with a woman less than half his age. This question will be discussed in all its bearings in a further Chapter relating to the Civil Condition. It will, therefore, be sufficient only to point out that the postponement of age at marriage, and the prevention of old age marriages cannot but result in offering some—though not appreciable—check to the unhampered growth of the State population. Female infanticide which is not infrequently mentioned in this connection should be absolutely ruled out of court in the case of this State. Abortion is sometimes alluded to as one of the checks. But religious sentiment and notions of morality which mould and characterise a Hindu life would not warrant any importance being attached to this practice. It is to be found, if at all, only among some of those younger widows who have been the unfortunate victims of enforced widowhood without enjoying the pleasures of life. The effects of artificial birth-control as limiting the future growth of population should also be noticed. Contraceptives have been frequently suggested as a means to limit the size of the family, and bettering one's economic condition by raising the standard of life. For, a large family is an obstacle to satisfying all the daily needs—not to talk of comforts and luxuries—of life. Reduction in the number of mouths to feed leaves a surplus which can be devoted to raise a man's economic status. This has resulted in the use of contraceptives on a very large scale in European countries, more extensively in France and the United States of America. The adoption of similar devices has been very widely advocated nowadays in India to reduce the size of the family and thereby promote the economic growth of the country. A Census Report is concerned with it only in its effects upon the growth of population. It may be pointed out here that their use in the state is likely to achieve little success in the near future owing to the extreme poverty of the Indian masses, social and religious traditions of the people, and their inability to comprehend its meaning much less to understand its significance and practise it.[1] So no check is likely to be received from this quarter during the next decade. And finally, the general, political and economic condition of the country which cannot but have its repurcussions on the Indian States, does not promise to be on the whole satisfactory. Political and economic unrest go hand in hand, and one is bound to react upon the other. Population grows only during times of peace and economic prosperity, and in the absence of the latter, harmonious growth of numbers cannot be hoped for. Even apart from the effects of political situation upon the economic condition of any one country, the whole of the world suffers to-day from over-population and under-employment without showing any chances of revival in the immediate future. This cannot but have a restrictive influence on the growth of population.

These then are the conditions which will determine the movement of population during the decade 1931–41. Added to these are the unforeseen effects of pestilence and famine, already referred to which periodically visit the Indian Continent. But when all this is said and surmised, it must be acknowledged that man is but a feeble judge of what is in the womb of future. There are many other factors which are beyond human knowledge and control. The probable conclusion, therefore, seems to be that while it is very unlikely that the growth of the population of the State in the future will be at the same speed as in the past decennium, and while the circumstances aforesaid would not warrant the inference of any great rise in its numbers, the past history would suggest a possible decline in its population as recorded in 1931.

SECTION VII—POPULATION AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

59. Pressure of Population.—While the population of the State has increased by 17 per cent. during the last decennium and 25 per cent. during 1881-1931, at the latter rate it would double itself within the next two hundred years. But speculations of this kind are of little value, when we know that the

1. Ranadive, *Population Problem of India*, p. 209.

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population of a country or state does not increase at a uniform rate from Census to Census. Checks to its growth are administered from various quarters. Since the commencement of the Census era, the decades 1881–91, 1901–11 and 1921–31 have been the only fairly normal periods. The rest have been disturbed by plague, famine and influenza which have set back the pendulum of growth. The writers on economics attribute the operation of these checks to the working of the Malthusian Law of Population. Mr. Ranadive, a recent writer on the subject, says:—

"The Malthusian theroy states that the population shows an inherent tendency to outrun the means of subsistence, in as much as, if unchecked, it will increase at least in geometrical ratio, while subsistence, even under the most favourable circumstances, cannot increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio. As man cannot live without bread, the growth of population must necessarily be curbed by the operation of various checks."[1]

In other words, the population will actually increase only as far as the means of subsistence will allow; but since it will always tend to outstrip production, its growth will always be curbed by various checks. Referring to the periodical visitations like plague, famine, flood, and influenza, and examining the high birth-rate, coupled with an equally high death-rate, and the high infantile mortality, the author concludes that there is a growing maladjustment between population and production which cannot but peril the very existence of the Indian nation, unless timely and concerted measures are taken. He is of the opinion that while intensive cultivation on western lines is not possible in view of the poverty of the cultivator, tendency towards diminishing returns, and inefficient methods of production, recourse to rapid industrialisation can be only a feeble palliative. The remedy for the country to get out of the Malthusian misery is not only to prevent the growth of population but also to reduce the existing pressure of numbers. This can be done either by abstinence or self-control; but more effectively by the adoption of neo-Malthusian methods of artificial birth-control which will give a natural excess of deaths over births.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that it is only in an agricultural community that the pressure of population on the means of subsistence or the available food supply will be of any consequence. The Industrial Revolution of Europe during the last century gave a great impetus to the growth of population in countries like England and Germany, irrespective of the food supply available to support the rapid growth of numbers. The possibility of the means of subsistence giving out at any particular future period can only be considered in regard to the world as a whole. An industrial country can exchange its commodities in lieu of agricultural produce. Again man's capacities for mastering the forces of Nature have been proved to be immense, and one does not know what further scientific inventions will come to the succour of humanity to avert the evil day predicted by Malthus. The world has gone on in the past and will also go on in the future.

But what is of great economic importance is the pressure of population as increasing man's misery and poverty and lowering his standard of life. And for testing this pressure Mr. Ranadive suggests:—

"Whether a country has multiplied far below a rationally adequate standard of life, or has approached or transgressed the poverty line, can in our opinion, be judged by a reference to the calamitous checks to population, which are born out of poverty. If famines and epidemics are found to oppress the population of a country in any great degree then it can be safely generalised that there is not enough food in that country to supprot its population adequately, and that population has multiplied beyond a reasonable standard of living; in short that the country is overpopulated."[2]

Thus 'over-population' or pressure of population on the means of subsistence are relative terms, and refer to the existing material and economic condition of a country without reference to any prospective expansion that may result in the future. The problem is as to whether the existing means of a country meaning thereby the totality of its national wealth and national income are by themselves sufficient to support the existing pressure of population. So far as India is concerned, the reply is in the negative. And what is true of India as a whole, is

1. *Population Problem of India*, p. 7.
2. *Ibid*, p. 15.

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true—after making the necessary allowance for local variations in the development of agricultural and non-agricultural industries and differences in the individual income owing to better trading and commercial conditions—for the State of Bhavnagar also.

60. Standard of Living.—The poverty of the Indian masses is patent. Their standard of life is miserably low. The national dividend or the per capita income has been variously estimated from Rs. 20 to Rs. 74. Dadabhoy Naoroji put it at Rs. 20. Later on in 1881, it was estimated at Rs. 27 by Sir David Barbour, and at Rs. 30 in 1901 by Lord Curzon. Ten years later, Mr. Findlay Shirras found it to be Rs. 50. According to the latest calculations of Mr. Khambatta, the gross per capita income has been estimated to be Rs. 74 per year. If the level of prices prevailing at these different periods of time be taken into consideration, it will be found that all these estimates differ but little, though some negligible rise will have occurred after all these years. Whatever the estimate we select for our purpose, the standard of living as at present obtaining in the country has reached the line of starvation. The finding of a similar estimate for the State would entail an elaborate enquiry of great complexity. But it is our opinion that though the comparatively smaller incidence of taxation and better conditions of living may give to the State figure a value higher than the all-India figure, it will not differ from it to any very great extent. The low standard of life which is one of the tests to gauge the over-population in the country is also established by the enquiries made by the Bombay Labour Office into the budgets of the working classes in 1921–22. The gist of its conclusion was that a criminal in jail could get more than workmen who toiled hard to earn an honest living.

The increasing pressure of population can be relieved only by preserving a balance between agricultural and non-agricultural industries. The pressure has begun to be felt not only in old countries like India which is mainly agricultural but also in England and America which are mainly industrial. A fair distribution of population between agricultural and industrial occupations is the only remedy. India must not only resort to intensive cultivation, but must also develop industrially. The growth of numbers must be checked by conscious efforts. But as has been already seen in the preceding para, the adoption of artificial means of reducing the family is not to be expected in the near future. But the increasing pressure of population on the means of subsistence can be relieved by reverting to her old practice of ***plain living and high thinking.*** Though there must be an increase in the national production and national income, if not greater than yet equal in amount to that of any other advanced country of the world, the simplicity of life for which she has stood for centuries should not be lost sight of. The difference between the East and West lies in this fundamental change in their outlook on life. While the materialistic civilization of the West is based upon the multiplication of wants and growing discontent as an incentive to progress, the spiritualistic civilization of the Orient is based on the limitation of wants, simplicity of life and the consequent contented and peaceful existence of the individual. In the actual worldly life there should be a fair admixture of the two. And no small degree of relief can be secured from the pressure on the means of subsistence by living a simple life whose necessity is not overlooked even by foreign writers on economics. To those who are prone to be converted by the pen of foreigners, we offer the following passage from Dr. Thompson:—

> "To simplify our present standards of living does not necessarily mean a lowering of them. It means rather that a good many of the things of our civilization which we consider essential to-day may be found to be merely passing phases, induced by our rapid industrial development. We have become accustomed to think of civilization and culture and progress as of necessity involving all the complexities of our present existence. It is open to question, however, whether much of our present complexity is not a hindrance to real culture rather than an aid. There cannot be much doubt that as people are becoming more educated they are becoming more self-contained, and they begin to see that the way to get the most out of life is to put the most into it, and not to surround themselves with all the luxuries and baubles they can afford."[1]

1. *Population: A Study in Malthusianism*, p. 164.

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

SHOWING RAINFALL IN THE MAHALS OF THE STATE, 1885-1930

Year	Bhavnagar	Sihor	Umrala	Gadhada	Botad	Lilia	Kundla	Victor	Mahuva	Talaja
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1885 ...	26·22	29·42	19·84	19·10	25·19	...	21·67	...	35·81	58·75
1886 ...	29·44	24·92	21·64	28·83	28·69	28·14	28·41	...	25·40	22·01
1887 ...	23·66	24·01	17·00	19·36	20·30	19·01	17·55	...	28·44	27·80
1888 ...	8·67	10·73	11·65	19·54	22·52	15·62	21·09	11·76	10·41	21·10
1889 ...	25·16	27·21	29·14	20·37	18·34	31·25	34·86	39·02	20·71	20·25
1890 ...	22·62	15·81	20·98	16·10	8·40	10·88	19·76	22·91	30·55	25·51
1891 ...	21·48	26·86	18·04	21·42	22·44	21·95	23·33	33·63	43·18	25·45
1892 ...	22·57	28·47	27·68	22·78	23·49	22·09	25·84	33·45	28·76	33·41
1893 ...	22.57	18·51	21·45	15·54	16·58	18·01	16·28	16·58	22·10	22·71
1894 ...	51·89	63·59	46·13	37·23	37·94	31·06	31·95	42·24	51·00	64·37
1895 ...	26·41	23·46	23·47	16·70	19·10	21·33	24·49	25·06	24·20	20·95
1896 ...	29·04	21·28	19·57	20·08	23·62	18·01	19·64	33·31	25·82	30·11
1897 ...	22·31	33·50	33·52	30·40	26·71	34·03	34·30	35·69	34·20	31·85
1898 ...	37·83	32·61	30·11	13·90	17·45	22·01	26·37	20·39	18·39	26·38
1899 ...	7·07	7·34	7·52	7·88	3·47	4·51	8·63	9·42	11·82	8·79
1900 ...	38·45	29·80	27·20	25·25	30·08	29·30	35·58	24·25	26·43	38·04
1901 ...	17·18	11·67	14·44	10·53	9·95	11·17	11·04	11·19	14·04	16·54
1902 ...	24·33	27·34	32·82	22·40	20·01	24·12	18·59	23·58	19·32	30·27
1903 ...	24·11	27·87	38·20	22·90	22·43	24·80	16·50	20·52	22·95	36·89
1904 ...	14·16	9·42	12·57	10·12	10.11	8·90	8·51	8·07	6·75	7·99
1905 ...	14·01	12·10	18·35	12·35	22·72	9·54	10·48	12·65	12·25	12·21
1906 ...	19·44	26·41	20·28	17·66	25·44	27·54	21·89	20·52	18·05	23·69
1907 ...	17·83	21·45	16·06	10·45	18·04	16·00	20·98	34·39	23·66	24·15
1908 ...	27·60	21·04	16·40	19·58	23·00	16·45	12·62	17·51	19·58	27·81
1909 ...	28·76	27·38	24·14	17·51	18·38	22·17	23·57	30·68	26·35	31·50
1910 ...	27·64	24·12	24·68	19·59	25·56	23·63	21·12	30·58	21·55	25·56
1911 ...	8·52	8·08	6·83	6·79	9·76	9·67	8·54	8·16	8·30	9·09
1912 ...	44·18	46·33	34·62	22·47	25·47	20·12	23·46	20·82	28·55	31·40
1913 ...	35·39	29·60	20·07	20·10	25·53	36·58	50·78	25·53	44·35	29·60
1914 ...	38·60	35·68	27·04	21·95	32·05	20·58	27·98	39·45	27·97	30·46
1915 ...	12·94	13·58	15·85	11·82	17·49	17·33	21·57	15·25	10·21	9·17
1916 ...	18·58	24·92	25·23	17·37	22·40	24·26	20·55	24·49	19·76	24·90
1917 ...	45·42	44·39	41·60	28·79	38·34	37·90	38·18	45·90	36·25	48·37
1918 ...	7·47	4·95	9·48	6·90	6·64	7·13	3·65	6·94	6·48	4·87
1919 ...	20·75	17·80	13·74	10·53	17·14	15·88	23·57	18·42	17·92	18·95
1920 ...	26·92	20·61	16·87	15·07	24·47	20·90	17·97	26·93	16·66	19·26
1921 ...	31·67	29·79	20·60	15·51	22·24	18·72	19·34	19·69	28·33	21·87
1922 ...	16·62	18·71	18·35	15·29	20·48	15·30	18·12	13·56	20·37	25·47
1923 ...	16·76	16·43	16·33	7·88	14·92	9·80	11·13	13·38	12·06	13·79
1924 ...	16·06	12·72	14·03	14·85	18·45	14·80	15·13	21·72	21·42	21·21
1925 ...	15·96	16·58	16·61	13·28	16·32	14·97	15·71	18·71	20·69	23·00
1926 ...	29·41	36·03	32·82	17·35	22·06	37·54	33·36	36·38	35·18	43·69
1927 ...	26·11	24·91	13·80	21·58	28·61	22·50	26·27	15·35	18·06	23·06
1928 ...	20·34	18·38	29·44	17·50	22·30	22·41	19·16	17·97	21·92	25·84
1929 ...	21·88	28·45	19·54	11·52	14·10	20·67	19·20	17·60	34·10	26·11
1930 ...	18·08	14·37	15·21	12·58	13·49	13·59	17·86	28·60	29·21	23·40
Average, for the first 35 years, i.e., 1885-1919.	*24·56*	*23·99*	*22·25*	*17·13*	*21·10*	*20·31*	*20·99*	*22·54*	*22·02*	*25·16*
Average, for the first 44 years, i.e., 1885-1928.	*24·14*	*23·76*	*21·96*	*17·78*	*21·01*	*20·41*	*21·44*	*30·23*	*23·09*	*25·85*
Average for 1921-1930.	*21·29*	*21·64*	*19·67*	*14·73*	*19·30*	*19·03*	*19·53*	*20·30*	*24·13*	*24·73*

Note.—Averages for the State: (1) For the period 1885–1919 = 22·00"

(2) For the period 1885–1928 = 22·24"

(3) For the decade 1921–1930 = 20·44"

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DENSITY

MAHAL	TAPPAS WITH POPULATION OF							
	Under 50		51–100		101–150		151–200	
	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bhavnagar State	302	5,465	163	15,860	1,126	1,41,980	666	1,15,798
	10·58	*1·09*	*5·71*	*3·17*	*39·48*	*28·38*	*23·35*	*23·14*
Daskroi ...	302	5,465	...	...	...	...	29	4,999
	66·37	*5·08*	...	...	...	...	*6·37*	*4·46*
Sihor ...	...	...	62	6,226	74	10,556	...	...
	...	...	*31·47*	*18·06*	*37·56*	*30·62*	...	...
Umrala ...	...	...	...	...	172	23,470	...	...
	...	...	...	...	*80·37*	*66·90*	...	...
Gadhada ...	...	...	...	...	190	23,231	...	...
	...	...	...	...	*100*	*100*	...	...
Botad ...	...	...	...	...	50	5,202	177	30,948
	...	...	...	...	*22·02*	*14·39*	*77·97*	*85·60*
Lilia ...	...	...	...	...	44	6,606	104	18,665
	...	...	...	...	*29·72*	*26·14*	*70·27*	*73·85*
Kundla ...	...	...	101	9,634	198	23,766	170	29,014
	...	...	*18·36*	*11·77*	*36·*	*29·05*	*30·90*	*35·46*
Victor ...	...	...	...	...	79	11,570	...	...
	...	...	...	...	*55·63*	*47·36*	...	...
Mahuva ...	...	...	...	...	257	29,055	129	22,450
	...	...	...	...	*55·26*	*34·88*	*27·7*	*26·92*
Talaja ...	...	...	...	...	62	8,524	57	9,725
	...	...	...	...	*23·48*	*17·40*	*21·59*	*19·85*

MAHAL	TAPPAS WITH POPULATION OF							
	201–250		251–300		301–450		451 and over	
	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population	Area	Population
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Bhavnagar State	326	72,206	103	29,296	79	31,788	87	87,881
	11·43	*14·43*	*3·61*	*5·83*	*2·76*	*6·35*	*3·05*	*17·56*
Daskroi ...	37	9,227	...	...	...	...	87	87,881
	8·13	*8·57*	...	...	...	...	*19·12*	*81·69*
Sihor ...	...	...	61	17,689	...	...	...	...
	...	...	*30·96*	*51·31*	...	...	...	...
Umrala ...	...	...	42	11,607	...	...	...	...
	...	...	*19·62*	*33·09*	...	...	...	...
Gadhada ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Botad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lilia ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kundla ...	81	19,395	...	...	...	...	...	...
	14·72	*23·7*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Victor ...	63	12,859	...	...	...	...	...	...
	44·36	*52·63*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mahuva ...	...	...	...	...	79	31,788	...	...
	...	...	...	...	*16·98*	*38·16*	...	...
Talaja ...	145	30,725	...	...	...	...	...	...
	54·92	*62·37*	...	...	...	...	...	...

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CHAPTER II

TOWNS, THE CITY OF BHAVNAGAR AND VILLAGES

61. Reference to Statistics.—Imperial Table III classifies the urban and rural population of the State by Mahals; Imperial Table IV classifies only the urban population, and shows its variation since 1911; and Imperial Table V gives the figures of religious composition of the urban population. Only the proportionate figures will, therefore, be given in the marginal and Subsidiary Tables embodied in the letter-press.

SECTION I—URBAN POPULATION

62. Definition of Town.—According to the Census Code, Municipalities, Cantonments and Civil Lines and all other places having a population of more than 5,000, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as such for Census purposes, are towns. This State is concerned with only one aspect of this definition, as there is no place with a population of more than 5,000 without a municipality. All the Mahal head-quarters like Umrala, Lilia, and Talaja with a population below 5,000 come under the category of Census towns on account of their having municipalities. Since 1911, when the Imperial Tables for the State were for the first time printed in the form of a booklet, the towns have remained coincident. Their number and area have remained unchanged. Moreover, with the solitary exception of the Mahal of Victor, all head-quarters of Mahals are towns. Discretion is given by the Code to the Provincial Superintendent to treat as town a place without a municipality, when its population exceeds 5,000 and possesses a truly urban character. The possession of the latter characteristic is, however, to be assumed in the case of a municipal area which is to be *ipso facto* consigned to the category of a town, even if its population is below 5,000.

The population living in towns is regarded urban, and the rest rural. The idea behind this classification of population into urban and rural is "to separate people living in sparsely settled regions and small villages from those living in towns and cities, on the theory that the former lead a more individualistic life, while the latter lead a more communal life,"[1] it being also supposed that the urban and rural populations live and work under different conditions.

As only the municipal centres have been treated as towns, there is not the least likelihood of any fluctuation being recorded in the urban and rural population of the State by the transfer of rural places to the urban, as in the case of other Indian States and British Provinces where the discretion aforesaid has very often been used to show a fair number of urban places in their jurisdiction.

63. Growth of Urban Population.—Of the total population of 5,00,274 persons, the urban population claims 1,52,609 or 30·5 per cent. Of the latter, the City of Bhavnagar alone claims 75,594 or 15 per cent., the remaining 77,015 or 16 per cent. being distributed among the towns of Mahuva, Savar-Kundla, Botad, Sihor, Rajula, Gadhada, Talaja, Lilia and Umrala. All these with the exception of Rajula form the seats of Vahivatdar's *kacheri*. The figures on the margin

1. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, p. 146.

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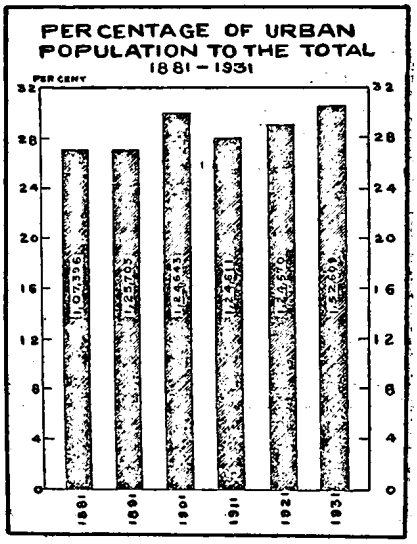
show the variation in urban population since 1921. The urban increase of 28,039 persons is 38 per cent. of the total increase in the State population. But the total increase in the urban population itself during the past decade amounts to 22 per cent. The urban population in 1881 was 1,07,396 over which the present population shows an increase of 42 per cent. during the last fifty years. The marginal table gives the percentages of the urban population to the total since 1881. It has gone from 1,07,396 in 1881 to 1,52,609 in 1931; and its percentage to the total has risen during that period from 26·8 to 30·5. Though the actual numbers of the urban population have varied but little from 1891 to 1921, the percentages of the urban to the total population recorded at each successive Census show appreciable variations. The marginal diagram which shows the percentage of urban population to the total by bars of proportionate length with the figures of actual population written in them will make this point clear. It will be also observed that the present Census surpasses all the Censuses that have been hitherto taken, in that it has not only got the highest number of persons classed as urban but that the percentage of the urban population to the total is also the highest. In 1901, the urban population formed 30·2 per cent. of the total. But from this no sudden improvement in the process of urbanization should be inferred during the decade 1891-1901. The higher percentage in 1901 was due to the immigration of the people from villages to Mahal head-quarters for famine relief during the famine of 1900, as the acuteness of the disaster had forced the people in rural areas to leave their native villages and flock to towns. On the whole, compared to other Indian States and British India, there is a very high degree of urbanization in this State. While the percentage of urban population of India as a whole has increased a little from 10·2 in 1921 to 11 at the current Census, that of the Bombay Presidency which registered the highest degree of urbanity (22·9 per cent.) a decade ago has slightly dropped down to 21·2. But the State of Bhavnagar has 30·5 per cent. of its present population shown as urban. The similar proportion for the States comprised in the Western India States Agency comes to 22·1.

Population	Population of 1931	Increase in 1931	Percentage of the population	Percentage of the increase
Total ...	5,00,274	73,870	100	100
Urban ...	1,52,609	28,039	31	38

Year	Urban population	Urban population per cent. of the total
1881	1,07,396	26·8
1891	1,25,705	26·9
1901	1,24,643	30·2
1911	1,24,611	28·2
1921	1,24,570	29·2
1931	1,52,609	30·5



64. Types of Towns.—Before the various types of towns are distinguished, it is necessary to point out that Savar Samapadar and Kundla which for the purposes of the Imperial Tables have been treated separately in pursuance

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of the past practice, have for the purposes of this chapter been treated as one town under the name of Savar-Kundla. It will be remembered that both of them have a municipality in common, and are situated one below the other. The river Navli which runs between these two places, and seems to separate them, really serves as a link between them in the form of a bazaar which is held in its dry river bed. The people of both the places lead a common social and economic life. And as one has merged into the other, and produced one homogeneous town, it will be hardly fair to treat them as two separate and independent urban centres.

If an attempt be made to classify the towns according to the main factors to which they owe their urbanity, the towns of the State may be roughly divided into (*i*) industrial and commercial towns, (*ii*) market towns and railway centres, (*iii*) old established towns, (*iv*) temple towns, and (*v*) agricultural towns.

The marginal table shows the number and population of each of the various types of towns. It also gives the proportion per cent. and the average population of each type. The City of Bhavnagar with its growing trade and commerce is decidedly a rising industrial and commercial centre. It claims 50 per cent. of the total urban population of the State. Mahuva, Savar-Kundla, and Botad owe their position, among other things, mainly to their being railway centres, and market places. Among the old established urban towns should be included Sihor, Umrala, and Rajula; whereas Gadhada with the temple of Swaminarayan, and Talaja with the Jain temples are the temple towns noted for their being centres of pilgrimage. Lilia has no such relieving feature as the others mentioned above. It is agricultural, and would not have merited the position of a town but for its having a municipality and being the head-quarters of a Mahal. The average population of a town comes to 15,261, and is exceeded only by the industrial and commercial centre of Bhavnagar and the market town of Mahuva. In alliance with the City which has 50 per cent. of the urban population, the towns of Mahuva, Savar-Kundla and Botad alone claim 1,21,170 or 80 per cent. of the total urban population. Thus the major portion of the urban population lives in commercial and market towns. Amongst the old established towns, Sihor is prominent and without it the average of this class would have been considerably reduced. Their share amounts to 19,406 or 13 per cent. The temple and the agricultural towns contribute but very little, their respective quota being only 6 and 1 per cent. of the urban population of the State. The types as defined above represent only the salient feature of the urban life of that particular group. It is only representative and by no means pure and unalloyed. For, Bhavnagar City which is a commercial centre is also a great centre of railway. Mahuva, Savar-Kundla, and Botad which are market towns and railway centres, and the temple town of Talaja are also in a way old established towns. Sihor, over and above its being an old town, is also a railway centre; and so are all the rest. It need hardly be added that it is the main characteristic which is marked and important that is emphasized.

KIND	Number	Population	Proportion per cent. to total	Average population
Total of Towns	**10**	**1,52,609**	**100**	**15,261**
Industrial and commercial centre ...	1	75,594	50	75,594
Market towns and Railway centres ...	3	45,576	30	15,192
Old established towns ...	3	19,406	13	6,469
Temple towns ...	2	9,600	6	4,800
Agricultural town ...	1	2,433	1	2,433

65. Towns classified by Population.—Imperial Tables III and IV should be referred to for the absolute figures of towns falling under different population classes, as also for the figures of variation since 1881. Percentage variation will be found in the following Subsidiary Table.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Towns Classified by Population

CLASS OF TOWN	Number of Towns of each class in 1931	Proportion to total urban population	Number of females per 1,000 males	Increase per cent. in the population of towns as classed at previous Censuses					Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1881 to 1931	
				1921 to 1931	1911 to 1921	1901 to 1911	1891 to 1901	1881 to 1891	(a) in towns as classed in 1881	(b) in the total of each class in 1931 as compared with the corresponding total of 1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total	10	100	939	+ 22·6	− ·03	− ·03	− ·8	+ 17·0	+42·09	+ 42·09
I. 1,00,000 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. 50,000-1,00,000	1	49·5	895	+ 25·02	− 0·38	+ 7·53	− 2·1	+ 20·63	+ 58·17	+ 58·2
III. 20,000-50,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IV. 10,000-20,000	4	36·5	983	+ 17·4	+ 0·5	− 8·5	− 0·2	+ 17·8	+ 33·8	+ 33·4
V. 5,000-10,000	2	7·6	965	+ 24·1	+ 3·4	+ 0·9	− 2·3	+ 0·6	+ 23·3	+ 23·1
VI. Under 5,000	3	6·4	1,011	+ 20·3	− 10·	− 7·3	+ 6·	+ 29·7	+ 33·5	+ 15·2

There is no town in the State having a population of 1,00,000 and over. In the second class with a population ranging between 50,000 and 1,00,000 falls the City of Bhavnagar with a population of 75,594. The City will be considered in detail at its proper place, and so only a passing reference will be made to it wherever necessary. The absence of any place in the third class with a population between 20,000 and 50,000 discloses the lack of towns of middle size. This phenomenon is common to the whole of India. At the top, there are a few industrial and commercial cities like Bombay and Calcutta, some medium sized towns in the middle and a large number of agricultural and rural villages at the bottom. There are 4 towns with a population between 10,000 and 20,000. These are Mahuva, Savar-Kundla, Botad, and Sihor. They claim 36.5 per cent. of the total urban population of the State. This class seems to have suffered a decline in its population for 20 years since 1891. But it has more than regained its former position within the last ten years when it seems to have progressed with redoubled energy, and shows an increase of 17·4 per cent. During the last five decennia, this class has increased by 35 per cent. The fifth class having population between 5,000 and 10,000 has showed continued progress except during the unhappy decade 1891–1901. It has got two places and its increase during the past decennuim is as great as 24 per cent. This class represents only 7·6 per cent. of the total urban population. The last urban class with places having less than 5,000 has three towns, and claims only 6·4 per cent. of the town-dwelling population. Though losses in the population of this class between 1901–11 and 1911–21 are fairly high amounting respectively to 7 and 10 per cent., it has not been backward in making them up during the past decade which records an increase of 20·3 per cent. upon the numbers of 1921. During the past fifty years its gains amount to 33 per cent. But according to its present classification as compared with the corresponding total in 1881, the increase registered is 15 per cent. It indicates that during the past five decennia much of the population of this class has been lost to the higher classes.

The net progress of the urban population as a whole, as also of each of the population classes is indeed very striking. Since 1881, though the population in

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the towns has risen by 42 per cent., the total number of places classed as urban has remained stationary. The percentage of increase indicates the growing nature of those towns which are thriving for various reasons. The growth of the urban population of the State represents the growth of the towns of Mahal head-quarters and the greatest quota is contributed by the capital. Growth of commerce due to the prosperity of the Port of Bhavnagar, extension of railway communications, and the development of market centres like Botad and Kundla are the chief causes of the increase in the urban population of the State. Since 1891, it has shown a slight but continuous decrease upto 1921. During the decennium 1901–1911 which registered an increase of 6·9 in the total population, the decrease recorded in the urban population was ·03 per cent. It was the last decade alone which favoured a great percentage increase amounting to 22·6 per cent. For thirty years from 1891-1921, the occupations in towns do not appear to be attractive enough to draw the inhabitants of villages to urban areas, and there seems to have been no appreciable development of the urban occupations during this period. The remarkable commercial development during 1921–31 is reflected in the growth of the town-dwelling population. The rise which is abrupt and sudden is spread over all the classes of population. Such a wide and varied expansion in the urban population of this State has never been observed before. The tendency of the urban population to live and flourish in larger and growing towns will be noticed from the fact that 86 per cent. of the urban population live in towns with population above 10,000.

66. Progressive Towns.—Having considered the variation and distribution of the population in towns, those among them which are exhibiting progressive tendencies will now be marked out. Among them Botad, Savar-Kundla, Lilia, Rajula, and Mahuva are the most important. The growth of the City will be separately surveyed.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Population of Towns since 1881

City or Town	Population in					
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Bhavnagar City ...	47,792	57,653	56,442	60,694	60,463	75,594
Sihor	9,528	10,005	10,101	7,746	8,705	10,049
Umrala	3,429	5,309	3,876	3,082	2,807	3,184
Gadhada	5,822	5,523	5,375	5,099	4,812	5,536
Botad	7,755	7,719	8,857	9,324	9,802	12,915
Lilia	1,867	1,922	2,081	1,895	1,906	2,433
Savar-Kundla	10,700	12,064	11,068	10,610	11,407	13,642
Rajula	3,690	4,926	5,150	5,136	4,929	6,173
Mahuva	13,704	16,707	17,549	17,063	16,414	19,019
Talaja	3,109	3,877	4,144	3,962	3,325	4,064

The table above and the diagram opposite point to the steady and uniform progress of some of these towns. Mahuva is a flourishing market town. Since 1881, it has added 5,315 souls to its population, and in 1901 its population rose to 17,549. Though the next two decades registered slight but negligible decreases in its population, during the last 10 years its population increased by 2,605 or 16 per cent. It is an old port of the State, and used to attract a fair amount of coastal trade to its shores. The extension of the B. S. Railway from Kundla to Mahuva offered great facilities for the expansion of its internal trade,

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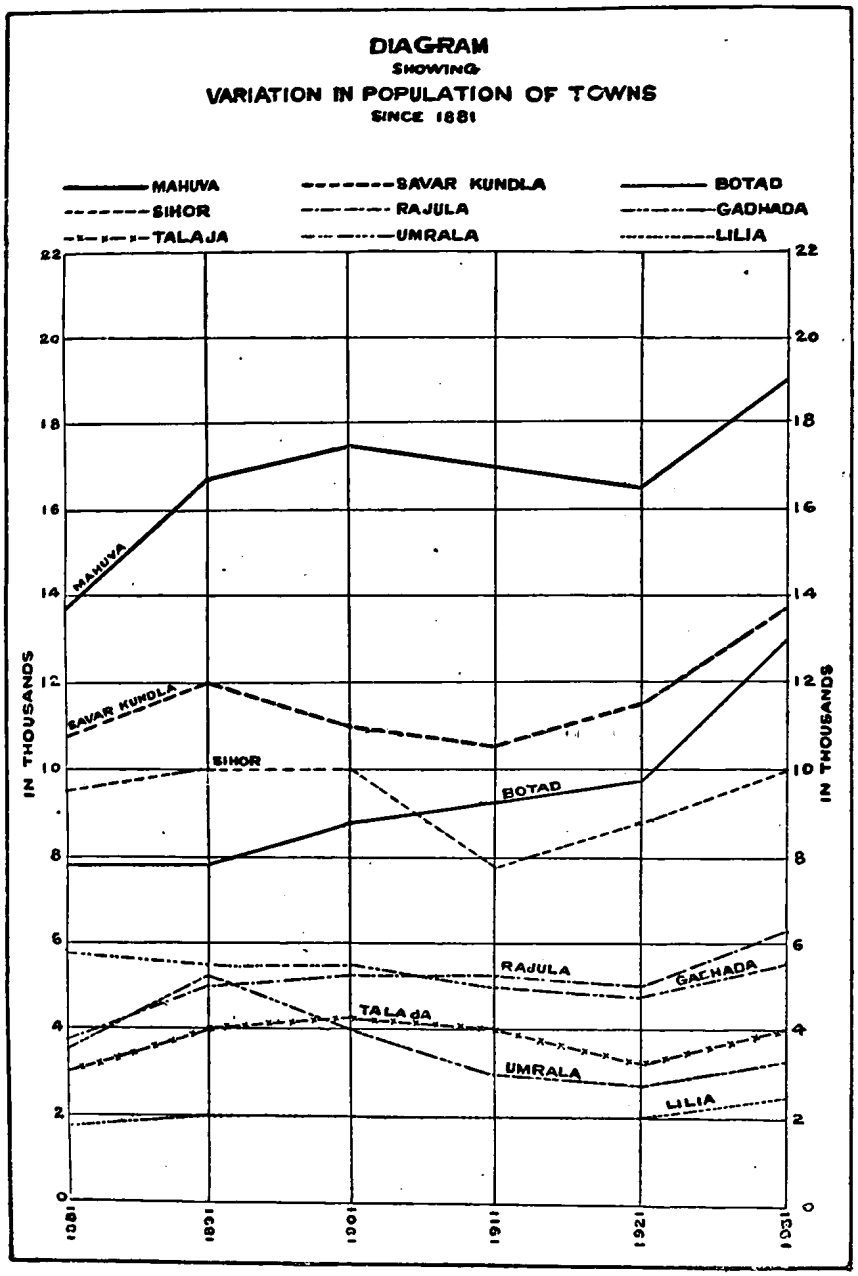

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by establishing contact with the people of the neighbouring tracts. Added to it are the recent erection of a spinning mill and rich garden soil surrounded by mango plantations all of whom have accelerated the growth of Mahuva into a middle size market town. Almost all the progressive towns owe their growth to the working of the same phenomenon. The impetus given by the extension of the railway line is in all the cases great, and cannot be minimized. In 1891, the population of Savar-Kundla rose to 12,064, and declined at the two succeeding Censuses. The rise noticeable in 1921 in spite of the plague and influenza epidemics continued till 1931 with greater speed, resulting in an increase of 20 per cent. To a less extent than Botad, Savar-Kundla is also a cotton growing tract. It possesses a press, and ginning factories which have played an important part in the growth of its population. It has also established its reputation for the manufacture of iron scales and other iron wares, which are sent outside in an increasing quantity. With an important market for disposing of agricultural produce of the surrounding villages, Kundla has secured to itself the status of a rising urban centre. But Botad has grown wonderfully during the last thirty years. It remained stationary in 1881 and 1891. But since 1901, its progress has been swift and continuous. It has already been seen that it is a rising cotton growing tract surrounded by ginning factories. Its position as a junction station on the Bhavnagar State Railway has greatly contributed to its growth as a prosperous market town. During the past decennium its population recorded an increase of 32 per cent. To every hundred of its population in 1881, Botad has added 65 during the last fifty years. This is by no means an ordinary rate of increase which is slightly beaten by Rajula whose progress was still more rapid and amounted to 67 per cent. Rajula showed a sudden rise in 1891, which was sustained even during the famine Census of 1901. Barring the negligible losses of 14 and 207 in 1911 and 1921, it continued to thrive upto 1931. During the last ten years it has added 1,244 persons to its population in 1921. Its stone quarries, and to a less advantageous extent than Botad and Savar-Kundla the extension of the railroads, make up the prosperity of the small but rising town of Rajula. From 3,690 in 1881, its population has reached 6,173 in 1931. During the past fifty years the population of Rajula has added 67 persons to every hundred of its inhabitants in 1881. Lilia is also to be included in the list of towns that have to thank railway extension for their growth and development. Its population which was 1,867 in 1881 rose to 2,433 in 1931. In fifty years its population has increased by 30 per cent. Never before did Lilia see such a great increase in its population as it did during 1921–1931, when it rose by 27·5 per cent. For, upto 1921, its growth was meagre and scanty, and hardly of any account. Since 1881, it shows an increase of only 2 per cent. in 40 years, though an increase of 11 per cent. is seen in 1901 upon the population of 1881. To the facilities of railway communications extended during the past decade, it owes its rise and establishment as a growing agricultural town during the past decennium.

The marginal table compares the proportionate figures of the population of the City of Bhavnagar and the towns at each succeeding Census, taking the population of 1881 as 100. The tabulation of the statistics in this form gives a comprehensive idea of the rise and fall in the population of the towns of the State at each succeeding Census since 1881.

TOWN	Proportional population of each town at each succeeding Census, taking 1881 as 100					
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Bhavnagar City ...	100	121	118	125	127	158
Sihor	100	105	106	81	91	105
Umrala	100	155	113	90	82	93
Gadhada ...	100	95	92	88	83	95
Botad	100	100	114	120	130	165
Lilia	100	103	111	102	102	130
Savar-Kundla ...	100	113	103	99	107	127
Rajula	100	134	140	139	134	167
Mahuva	100	122	128	125	120	139
Talaja	100	125	133	127	107	131

67. Stationary Towns.—Of the two stationary towns of Talaja and Sihor, the former may well be deemed progressive on the basis of its population as it

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stood in 1881. But it is found that in 1901 its population was 4,144, and to attain that level the present figure of 4,064 must still have some 80 persons more. But the deficits resulting during the Censuses of 1911 and 1921 have been remarkably made up during the past decade which records an increase of 739 or 22 per cent. The opening of the tram line from Bhavnagar to Talaja has come to the succour of Talaja to establish itself once more as a pilgrim town, and the contemplated extension of the railway line from Talaja to Mahuva may serve it in still greater stead by enabling it to secure for itself the favourable position of a market town. As in the case of Talaja, so in the case of Sihor, the 1931 Census has been helpful in enabling it to reach the 1901 population level, which is less by 52 souls. Its vicinity to the capital whose commercial advancement during the past decennium was unprecedented, the revival of its old industry of brassware manufacture, and the return home during the post-war period of some of its able-bodied inhabitants have helped it a great deal in regaining its former status. But its present population which is 10,049 had fallen as low as 7,746 in 1911 when there was a general increase in the population of the State.

68. Decaying Towns.—Umrala and Gadhada are the two towns which have manifested decaying tendencies during the greater part of the last fifty years. Though the present Census may be regarded to have enabled them to emerge successfully from the struggle to regain their 1881 position, deficits of 245 and 286 respectively are still to be made up. Umrala has not been fortunate enough to enjoy the benefits of being a railway station. The population of this original seat of the ruling house of Bhavnagar which rose to 5,309 in 1891, fell as low as 2,807 in 1921. At present it has risen to 3,184. The absence of railway and the growth in its vicinity of the rising village of Dhola are mainly responsible for the depletion in the population of Umrala. This is also evidenced by examining the proportions per mille of the male and female population of Umrala. In every thousand that inhabit the town 492 are males and 508 are females. In the State, and particularly in towns it is the males that preponderate and not the females. The excess of the latter in the town of Umrala points to the emigration of its able-bodied males for earning their living. Though its present population discloses an increase of 13 per cent. during the past decade, there is still a deficit of 7 per cent. to be made up over the population as it stood in 1881. But the decay is vividly brought to light when it is noticed that from 3,429 in 1881, the population had risen to 5,309 in 1891. The severe effects of the 1900 famine that followed the latter Census are visible in the subsequent fall to 3,876 in 1901 which recorded a decrease of 1,433 or 36 per cent. These heavy losses have never been made up since then. But the position of Gadhada is not so very precarious. For, with the exception of the year 1921 when its population fell to 4,812, its population had never gone below five thousand. Gadhada was at its highest in 1881 when its population stood at the handsome figure of 5,822. Since 1891, it continuously declined and fell to 4,812 in 1921. But during the past decennium, its population registered an increase of 724 or 15 per cent., and the newly constructed railway line between Ningala and Gadhada may enable it to fare still better during the decade to pass. Umrala and Gadhada are to-day the only towns which show negligible deficits over the population figures of 1881. To them may be added Sihor and Talaja whose population is still below the figures which they had attained at one time or another during the past five decennia.

69. Causes of Urban Growth.—The progressive, stationary and decaying towns have been considered in the preceding paras. It has been observed that the railway policy of the State has played a very useful and important part, both by way of contributing to the growth and development of some of them as centres of market for the Mahals whose head-quarters they happen to be, as also by way of encouraging the towns like Sihor and Talaja to recover the ground lost during the previous Censuses. The effects of railway communications upon the rise and growth, as also upon the maintenance of the urban population have been considerable. They have been brought into greater prominence during the times of comparative peace and prosperity which the people enjoyed during the past

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decennium. The great significance of railways lies in the stimulus they give to the growth of markets which in their turn promote internal trade and commerce, and contribute to urban prosperity. Mr. Marten, while discussing the causes that generally go to make up the growth of towns and cities, points out :—

"Some, as the capitals of former ruling dynasties, owed their importance to their position as political centres; others situated on the great land or water-ways, grew up as emporia of trade, others again were established as strategic citadels of defence against hostile raiders. The prosperity of many," he suggests, "has varied ... with the diversion of trade-routes, the growth or decay of harbours, the introduction of railways and development of communications." But chief emphasis is laid on the "two dominant factors which have specially determined the direction and character of urban development during the last twenty years, namely (*a*) the expansion of trade and commerce and (*b*) the development of organized industries."[1]

But the contribution made by organized industries, as evidenced by the erection of an additional spinning mill at Mahuva and increase in the number of ginning factories, though appreciable, is by no means as important as that done by the expansion of trade and commerce as a result of the extension of railway and increase of trade at the prospering harbour of Bhavnagar.

70. Distribution of Population.—The variation in the urban population by Mahals has been seen. The following Subsidiary Table shows the distribution of the population between towns and villages of various sizes.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BETWEEN TOWNS AND VILLAGES

STATE	Average Population per		Number per mille residing in		Number per mille of urban population in towns with a population of				Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of			
	Town	Village	Towns	Villages	20,000 and over	10,000 to 20,000	5,000 to 10,000	Under 5,000	5,000 and over	2,000 to 5,000	500 to 2,000	Under 500
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bhavnagar State	15,261	540	305	695	495	275	166	64	...	63	642	295

Out of every thousand of the general population, 305 live in towns and 695 in villages. So far as the urban population is concerned, out of every thousand that live in towns 495 persons live in towns with a population of 20,000 and over, 275 in towns with a population of 10,000 to 20,000, 166 in towns with a population of 5,000 to 10,000 and only 64 in towns with a population under 5,000. Out of a total urban population of 1,52,609, 1,31,219 or 86 per cent. live in towns above 10,000, whereas 21,390 or 14 per cent. live in towns below 10,000. The marginal statement compares the figures of 1921 with those of 1931 and illustrates that while the population of towns above 10,000 shows an increase of 49 per cent. during the past decennium, the population of towns below 10,000 registers a decrease of 41 per cent. The figures given in the brackets show

CENSUS	URBAN POPULATION IN TOWNS	
	Above 10,000	Below 10,000
1921	88,271 (71)	36,286 (29)
1931	1,31,219 (86)	21,390 (14)
Variation per cent. 1921-31	+ 49	— 41

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 65.

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the population per cent. of each class to the total urban population. While the population in towns above 10,000 has increased from 71 per cent. in 1921 to 86 in 1931, that in towns below 10,000 has decreased from 29 to 14. The tendency of the population to flock to larger urban centres which grow at the expense of villages and smaller towns is unmistakable. It indicates that whereas the smaller towns like Umrala and Gadhada are gradually decaying, the larger towns like Botad, Savar-Kundla, Mahuva and the City of Bhavnagar tend to grow more and more under the influence of expanding markets and increasing commercial prosperity.

71. That this tendency is peculiar only to the present Census will be observed from the figures given in the marginal table. Ever since the Census of 1901, no other intercensal period has seen such an extraordinary rise in the urban population of the State. From 1891 to 1921, the loss, though slight, has been continuous. Even in 1911, when the general population registered an increase of 6·9 per cent., the urban population showed a decrease of 0·025 per cent. This goes to prove that the town life was neither popular nor attractive until the commencement of the past decennium which was responsible for such a big increase of 22·5 per cent. in the urban population of the State. While the increase in the total population of the State is recorded to be 17·3 per cent., the respective percentages of increase in the urban and rural population are 22·5 and 8. In this connection the marginal statistics will prove interesting and instructive as illustrating the process of urbanisation since 1881. The figures which show the proportions per mille of the population that live in towns and villages, reveal a state of increasing urbanisation from Census to Census, despite the fact that there have been slight decreases in the urban population of the State from 1891 to 1921. The figures of 1901 are striking and noteworthy. They appear to indicate an unexpected leap in the process of urbanisation, during the decennium 1891–1901. The proportion per mille of persons living in towns rose from 269 in 1891 to 302 in 1901. But the rise was not due to any genuine increase in the proportion of the urban population of the State, but was due, as already noted, to the migration of the village people to the urban areas for famine relief. The effects of the ravages of the Big Famine upon the rural tracts are vividly brought out by these statistics. But barring this exceptional year, the growth of the urban population was the greatest during 1921–31. The flow of the people from villages to towns that supply them in an increasing manner with the wherewithals to earn their livelihood was steady and continuous, the proportion per mille of the population living in towns having risen from 268 in 1881 to 305 in 1931.

CENSUS	Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)	
	Urban Population	Rural Population
1891-1901	— 0·84	— 15·7
1901-1911	— 0·025	+ 10·0
1911-1921	— 0·032	+ 1·6
1921-1931	+22·5	+ 8·0

YEAR	Proportion per mille of the population living in	
	Towns	Villages
1881	268	732
1891	269	731
1901	302	698
1911	282	718
1921	292	708
1931	305	695

The variation in the distribution of population between towns and villages is due first to natural causes and secondly to the migration of people from villages and foreign territories who flock to rising urban centres for bread. Sometimes, it is due to the increase in urban areas. But in the case of this State the latter factor is to be entirely ruled out of court as its urban areas have undergone no change ever since 1872. Therefore, it need hardly be asserted that the growth noticed above is due to the first two causes alone.

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72. Effects of Urban Growth.—The process of urbanisation has been steady and continuous since 1891. Notwithstanding increasing urbanisation, the number of persons living in towns has not only remained stationary, but has also shown slight though negligible decrease upto 1921. From 1,25,705 in 1891, it fell to 1,24,570 in 1921. But the increase since 1921 outstrips all former growth and shows an increase of 28,039 or 22·6 per cent. The net increase in the urban population since 1881 is 42 per cent. A comparison between the percentages of increase in the urban and rural population which are 22·5 and 8 respectively with the general increase of 17·3 per cent. indicates that the urban population has grown far more rapidly than the rural. It also signifies the extent to which the village people have moved to the towns, as also the extent to which the pressure on land has been relieved by the employment afforded by non-agricultural occupations at urban centres.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

NUMBER PER MILLE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AND OF EACH MAIN RELIGION WHO LIVE IN TOWNS

STATE	Number per mille who live in towns					
	Total population	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Christian	Parsi
Bhavnagar State	305	258	602	619	964	990

73. Religious Composition of Urban Population.—The religious composition of the urban population is shown by the foregoing Subsidiary Table. The proportion per mille of the total population living in towns is 305. The Hindus who represent 87 per cent. of the State population have got only 258 persons in every thousand of their population living in towns. But the adherents of Islam who form only 8·5 per cent. of the total population have 602 persons dwelling in towns in every thousand of the Muslim population. And for every thousand of the Jain, Christian and Parsi population 619, 964 and 990 persons respectively are the dwellers in urban areas. These statistics bear out the tendency of the members of a major community to be more of the rural areas than of the urban. The Musalmans and Jains who are not so numerous as the Hindus are largely town dwellers; but the Hindus who form the majority are largely living in villages.

The marginal statement compares the figures of religious composition of the total population with that of the urban. Every ten thousand of the State population is composed of 8,660 Hindus, 854 Musalmans 471 Jains, 7 Parsis, 6 Christians, and 2 belonging to other religions. But the same distribution of the population is not maintained in towns where 7,310 Hindus, 1,680 Musalmans, 960 Jains, 20 Parsis, 20 Christians and 10 of other religions go to make up every ten thousand of the urban population. The proportion per mille of the population living in towns is reduced by 135 in the ease of the Hindus, whereas in the case of the followers of other religions, it increases considerably. This result is due to the relatively smaller percentage proportion of the Hindus that lives in towns compared to that of the Jains, Muslims and other minorities. For, while only 26 per cent. of the Hindu population live in towns, among the

Religion	Proportion per mille	
	In the State	In the towns
Hindu ...	866·0	731
Muslim ...	85·4	168
Jain ...	47·1	96
Parsi ...	·7	2
Christian ...	·6	2
Others ...	·2	1

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Muslims, Jains, Christians, and Parsis, 60, 62, 96, and 99 per cent. respectively belong to urban areas. This lends support to the view expressed by Mr. Sedgwick that :—

"Everywhere the country is homogeneous and native, the town heterogeneous and cosmopolitan. Hence all minorities find their way to and flourish in towns."[1]

This phenomenon is found to operate in all the countries of the world. Town-dwelling, as will be seen later on, partially accounts for the greater degree of literacy in the case of some of the minorities like the Jains, Parsis, and Christians. Moreover, on account of the greater proportion of their population being urban, the minority communities have been observed to be engaged in agricultural pursuits to a less extent than the members of the majority communities. The marginal table compiled from Imperial Table XI supplies the statistics of persons engaged in certain selected groups of occupations. Out of 1,03,943 that are returned as engaged either as earners or working dependants in the four selected groups of agricultural occupations, *viz.*, rent receivers, cultivating owners, cultivating tenants and agricultural labourers, 96,645 or 95 per cent. are Hindus, 3,904 or 4 per cent. Muslims, 251 or ·2 per cent. Jains, 2 or ·001 per cent. Parsis, and 1,141 or 1 per cent. miscellaneous. No Christian is plying agriculture. Again column 3 of the marginal table gives the proportions per cent. of the followers of each religion that are following agricultural occupations. The Hindus who are more than 87 per cent. of the total population have 23 per cent. of their total population engaged in the four selected groups aforesaid. But minority communities have betaken themselves to agriculture to a less extent. Their urbanity varies inversely as the proportions per cent. of their population that are agricultural. Hence the conclusion that the minorities are less agricultural and rural than the majorities.

Religion	Total engaged in agriculture	Per cent. of the total population of each religion engaged in agriculture	Per cent. of the total engaged in agriculture
Total	**1,03,943**	...	**100**
Hindu	96,645	23	95
Muslim	3,904	9	4
Jain	251	1	·2
Parsi	2	1	·001
Christian	...	...	...
Others	1,141	·2	1

74. Sex Proportions in Towns.—Males outnumber females even in the State where there are 945 females to 1,000 males. But the scarcity of females is more marked in urban areas than in the rural owing to the immigration of males for employment in non-rural occupations in towns. For, while the proportion of females per 1,000 males living in villages is 948, the similar proportion for the urban areas is 939. The figures in the margin supply the proportions of females in each class of towns. Roughly speaking, the higher classes of towns show a greater preponderance of males than females. The reverse tendency in Class VI is due to the inclusion in this class of towns like Umrala, the tendency towards emigration on the part of whose male population has already been noticed before. Females are, therefore, found to outnumber males, the ratio being 1,011 females to 1,000 males.

Class of Town		Number of females per 1,000 males
	Total	**939**
I	1,00,000 and over	...
II	50,000—100,000	895
III	20,000— 50,000	...
IV	10,000— 20,000	983
V	5,000— 10,000	965
VI	Under 5,000	1,011

1. *Bombay Census Report*, 1921, p. 58.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

PROPORTION OF THE SEXES IN EVERY THOUSAND OF THE POPULATION IN TOWNS OVER 2,000 INHABITANTS

TOWN	POPULATION 1931			POPULATION PER MILLE	
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Bhavnagar City ...	39,894	35,700	75,594	528	472
Botad	6,660	6,255	12,915	516	484
Gadhada	2,848	2,688	5,536	514	486
Mahuva	9,688	9,331	19,019	509	491
Lilia	1,234	1,199	2,433	507	493
Rajula	3,111	3,062	6,173	504	496
Sihor	4,976	5,073	10,049	495	505
Talaja	2,013	2,051	4,064	495	505
Savar-Kundla ...	6,731	6,911	13,642	493	507
Umrala	1,568	1,616	3,184	492	508

Note.—The towns are arranged in serial order according to the deficiency of females.

The sex proportions in the towns of the State are given in the Subsidiary Table printed above. The numbers of each sex in every thousand of the population in towns over 2,000 inhabitants are shown. Both in the total and urban population males have been observed to outnumber females. But a separate and independent examination of each individual town submits very interesting results. A tendency in the opposite direction is noticed in the towns of Sihor, Talaja, Umrala, and Savar-Kundla, where the females are in preponderance. The scarcity of the male population of Sihor is partially due to its being in the vicinity of the City of Bhavnagar, whose active commercialization is bound to attract its able-bodied males for livelihood. Umrala has already been found to be a decaying town, its males moving outward for being occupied in non-rural centres. The same is also the case with the stationary, though semi-progressive town of Talaja. But the progressive town of Savar-Kundla may be justly expected not to have fallen in line with the towns considered before. Because it is the usual tendency of all growing towns to show a higher proportion of males than females and that of the decaying towns to show a higher proportion of females than males who generally emigrate to great urban centres whose occupations offer them ready employment in commercial and industrial concerns. But the departure from the usual tendency in the case of Savar-Kundla should not warrant a conclusion that they do not attract people from villages. It must be doing so, otherwise it could not be progressive. But the excess of females over males is explicable by the greater attractions held out to the energies and capital of some of its males who are induced to stir out for making money. All the remaining towns show a scarcity of women. As will be seen later on, Bhavnagar has a very high ratio of males, Botad coming next with 516 males and 484 females in every thousand of its population. The preponderance of males is also an indication of the greater degree of urbanisation of these two towns. But the case of the temple town of Gadhada stands on quite a different footing. Its sex ratio shows that males outnumber females to a greater extent than that of any town except the two aforementioned. The higher proportion of males in Gadhada should, in the absence of any urban development, be attributed to the existence of the temple of the Swaminarayan sect whose tenets enjoin strict celibacy among the members of its spiritual order. Mahuva, Rajula, and Lilia exhibit varying degrees of male preponderance. Finally, in considering the sex proportions, the towns of the State should be divided into two classes, *viz.*, (1) the towns in which the males outnumber females, and (2) the towns in which the females outnumber males. To the former belong the City of Bhavnagar and the towns of Botad, Gadhada, Mahuva, Lilia, and Rajula; and to the latter the towns of Talaja, Savar-Kundla, Sihor and Umrala. But there is no great disparity between the proportions of the sexes except in the case of the capital whose male population shows a marked preponderance over females.

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SECTION II—BHAVNAGAR CITY

75. On account of its important position, the City of Bhavnagar should be accorded a special and separate treatment. The present population of the City is registered to be 75,594 of which 39,894 are males and 35,700 females. The population of the revenue village of Juna Vadwa which has been completely absorbed by and forms a part and parcel of the City is included in its population. In it are also included the figures of the running and floating populations in railway trains and on board the sea-going vessels whose enumeration called for special arrangements. The latter account for 735 and 346 persons respectively. Moreover, the railway colony of Bhavnagar Para, popularly known as Gadhechi contributes 1,125 persons of which 614 are males and 511 females. Taking out the figures of the superfluous population belonging to the travelling public and to the Para, the population of the City proper or 'Smaller Bhavnagar' reduces itself to 73,388. But if the exact population of the 'Smaller Bhavnagar' is to be obtained, still further deductions should be made in favour of the suburban development at the Takhteshwar Plot. Even subtracting the figures of the persons living at the Plot will not give an exact idea of the genuine population inhabiting the City which was swollen by the temporary immigration of labourers and artisans at the works under construction for the celebration of the Wedding and Installation of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb.

But if an exact idea of the growth of the capital should be had, the figures of 'Greater Bhavnagar' as including the suburbs of Bhavnagar Para and Takhteshwar Plot should be taken into account. The figures of 'Smaller Bhavnagar' are of use only in considering the congestion in the City areas. Though a proper statistical guide in this direction can be obtained only from a tenement Census carried out for the purpose of finding out the pressure of population on the house-room available, other signs, both direct and indirect, are not wanting to supply a proper clue to the existing congestion.

76. Density.—An examination of density and other circumstances will throw the necessary light upon the overcrowding in the City. Its density is 2,800 persons to the square mile. These figures for the area included in the revenue village of Bhavnagar are indeed very high. Moreover, it is an open secret that the heart of the City and Vadwa are very thickly populated. The movement of the City population towards the outskirts at the Takhteshwar Plot also bears testimony to the prevailing congestion. The anxiety on the part of the people to desert filthy streets for well-ventilated and airy dwellings has found expression in the rapid development of the Plot area. There are vast possibilities for future expansion at the Plot which alone can come to the succour of the City dwellers to relieve the growing congestion. Given proper facilities and encouragement to the people to quit the overcrowded City locality, the problem appears to be quite easy of solution.

77. Movement of the City Population.—Unlike any other urban area, the City of Bhavnagar has been showing steady and continuous progress. It has, of course, suffered some negligible losses in years of famine, pestilence and influenza, but they have been far less than in the case of the State, or any of its Mahals or towns. A reference to Subsidiary Table VI and to the figures marginally quoted demonstrates that while at the Censuses of increase, the increase in the population of the City has been proportionately greater than that of the State,

Census Year	Population of City	Variation Per cent. from previous Census
1881	47,792	.....
1891	57,653	+20·63
1901	56,442	— 2·1
1911	60,694	+ 7·53
1921	60,463	— 0·38
1931	75,594	+25·02

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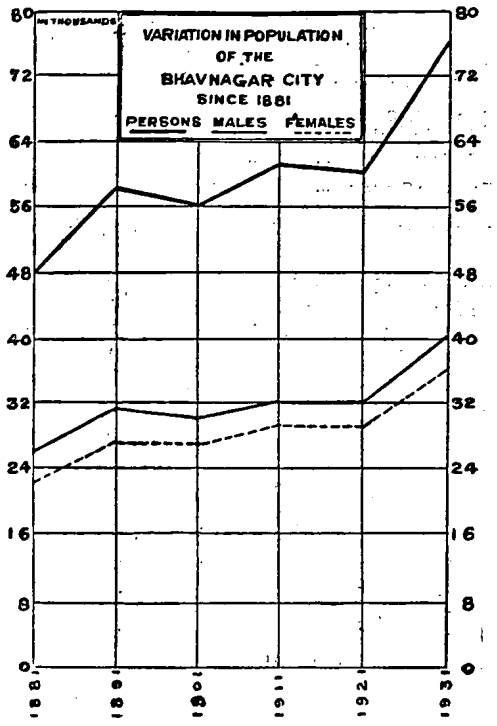
in the years of decrease, its losses have been correspondingly less. It betokens a state of healthy urban prosperity enjoyed by the capital, and testifies to its greater resisting power. In 1901, when the general population of the State was subjected to a loss of 11·7 per cent. by the ravages of the Chhapania Famine, the decrease in the population of the City was only 2 per cent. Influenza and plague which were jointly responsible for a decrease of 3·5 per cent. in the State population, affected the City population by ·4 per cent. only in 1921. At the present Census, as against an increase of 17 per cent. in the total population of the State, there is an increase of 25 per cent. in that of the City. In 1881, its population stood at 47,792 and rose as high as 60,694 in 1911. But to-day it is at its highest with 75,594 and claims 50 per cent. of the urban and 15 per cent. of the total population of the State. The variation in the population of the City since 1881 is shown by the diagram in the margin.



78. The past decennium is responsible for a greater part of the increase in the City population. This will be clearly understood by carefully studying the following Subsidiary Table.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Bhavnagar City

City	Population in 1931	Number of persons per square mile	Number of females to 1,000 males	Proportion of foreign born per mille	Percentage of variation					
					1921 to 1931	1911 to 1921	1901 to 1911	1891 to 1901	1881 to 1891	Total 1881 to 1931
Bhavnagar City	75,594	2,800	895	165	+25·02	—0·38	+7·53	—2·1	+20·63	+58·17

Since 1881, the City shows a net increase of 27,802 or 58 per cent. In other words, to every ten thousand of its population, the City has added 5,817 during the last fifty years. The past decade alone registers a net increase of 15,131 or

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25 per cent. upon its population as returned in 1921. The intensive commercial growth of the City as a result of the growth of its trade will be evidenced by the marginal statement which compares the number of sailings to and from the Port of Bhavnagar and the value of its imports in 1921 with those in 1930. The figures speak for themselves and need no comment. With the added facilities of transport and railroad communications, it has succeeded in securing to itself the favoured position of a great emporium of trade. Its mill industry has also substantially advanced. Being a capital town, it is the centre of all the important State Offices. It is also the head-quarters of the military and police. Being an important centre of education in Kathiawar, students from and outside the Peninsula come here for prosecuting higher and collegiate studies. The Dakshina Murti Bhuwan is a great attraction to those who desire to tread the unbeaten paths of educational activities on the lines of the Montessori and Dalton systems. The world-wide economic depression has driven home the local emigrants to the big industrial and commercial centres which had induced them to stir out during the boom period. The combined effects of all these causes have been to give to the City of Bhavnagar an increase of 15,131 persons at the current Census.

Particulars	1921-22	1930-31
Vessels entered (Steam) ...	88	140
From Foreign Countries ...	1	59
From Coast Ports	87	81
Sailings	88	139
To Foreign Countries	1	58
To Coast Ports	87	81
Total value of Imports ...	Rs. 1,13,78,336	Rs. 2,39,99,234

79. Composition of the City Population.—The growth of the City in the light of the figures of percentages of variation since 1881 has been followed. Unlike the rural population, natural causes alone are not responsible for the growth of the town population. Migratory currents play a very important part in determining the growth and development of urban areas. The City has at the present Census risen to the full stature of a great urban centre and fully partakes of all its characteristics. Subsidiary Table VI shows the sex ratio to be 895 females to one thousand males. Out of every thousand persons living in the City, 528 are males and 472 females. The disparity of the sexes is striking and at once noticeable. The influx of immigrant labour, especially of males who find employment in commercial and trading occupations, reduces the proportion of females who are very often left behind in villages or towns. Sometimes the males come alone; sometimes the females are brought after the former settle. Moreover, the urban occupations involving greater manual labour offer fewer opportunities for the employment of females than males. The extent of immigration to the City, however, can be seen from the fact that 16·5 per cent. of the City's population consist of outside immigrants. In spite of a fair proportion of foreign element in its population, the healthy character of its urbanisation is disclosed by the sex ratios of the native born and the foreign born. While there are 890 females to 1,000 males born in Bhavnagar, there are 917 females per one thousand males born outside Bhavnagar. The proportion of females is considerably higher in the case of persons born outside the State. It indicates that most of the immigrants come and settle in the City with their families. But the greater scarcity of females in the case of the native born is, however, due to the custom of receiving in marriage girls born outside Bhavnagar.

80. Summary.—The past decennium has witnessed an extraordinary rise in the population of the City of Bhavnagar which was promoted by various causes, the chief among others being the unprecedented expansion of its trade and commerce and the growth of its harbour. The increase which is 27,802 or 58 per cent. within half a century by no means points to an ordinary rate of growth. The City has to-day become an emporium of trade and a rising and prosperous distributing centre.

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SECTION III—RURAL POPULATION

81. Village how far a Unit of Residence.—Rural population means the population living in places other than towns and cities, that is to say in villages. The term 'village' has been defined by the Census Code to mean the revenue village and not the separate residential hamlet. A village may be either inhabited or deserted and may consist of more than one inhabited place, *parā* or hamlet situated within the administrative area of the revenue village. In the Mahal of Umrala, Thapnath and Dhola Vishi are inhabited places but not villages and are, therefore, treated as hamlets of the parent villages, Chogath and Dohla. The revenue villages of Juna Vadwa and Jaswantpara have no separate existence and are wholly absorbed in the City of Bhavnagar and the town of Kundla; whereas Mahadevpara, Kachotia, Ratanpar, and some others have become deserted. Yet all of them are treated as separate revenue villages. Further, a revenue unit is not necessarily the same as a cadastral unit which is based upon the convenience of the survey authorities. The revenue unit is, on the other hand, based upon the convenience of the revenue administration. But no great divergence between the village as a revenue unit and village as a unit of residence exists in the State as in the Province of Bengal where there is no unit of population which can ordinarily be described as a village. Barring certain exceptions, *viz.*, of nine deserted villages shown in the note appended to Imperial Table III and the two inhabited villages of Juna Vadwa and Jaswantpara merged into the revenue villages of Bhavnagar and Kundla, the villages of Bhavnagar State are all residential units. The note referred to above also contains a statement of seven inhabited places not treated as villages but which form part of the revenue villages. The discrepancy, if any, between a village in the Census or revenue sense and a village as a unit of residence is, therefore, negligible.

Out of 666 villages,[1] 655 are inhabited, if Juna Vadwa and Jaswantpara that have merged their identity into the neighbouring units be excluded. The cases of inhabited places not treated as villages have been noticed to be few and far between. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that a village is generally a residential unit, having a definite social and economic existence. This will be made still clearer, if we consider the vernacular equivalent of the village which means *gama, grama* or *gamadu.* All these terms connote places of habitation of a group of families who lead a common social, and economic life. These residential units were found convenient by the revenue and survey authorities for the administrative and settlement purposes and were adopted for their use with necessary modifications. A *parā* or hamlet means just the same thing as a *gama,* but differs in that it is a later growth and not infrequently shares the economic and social life of the parent village. This should be deemed to account for its not meriting a separate treatment and being treated as a part of the main village by the revenue authorities. The Census definition of a village as at present constituted is thus an attempt to accommodate itself to its popular vernacular meaning.

82. Villages in the State.—There are in all 666 villages in the Bhavnagar State. Leaving out Juna Vadwa and Jaswantpara, the number of inhabited villages comes to 655 as against 650 in 1921. It will be interesting to note that while Mahadevpara in the Sihor Mahal which was inhabited in 1921 has become deserted since then, Madhia Juna, Savaikot, Ganeshgadh, Gundala and Kotada in Daskroi, and Sagwadi in Sihor that were deserted in 1921 have become inhabited at the current Census. The new *parās* that have sprung into existence during the past decennium are Navagam in Daskroi, Kanivav in Sihor, and Krashnapara and Navagam in Umrala. The coming into existence of new hamlets and

1. The revenue villages now number 671 owing to the treatment in the revenue accounts of five hamlets in the Mahal of Mahuva—previously shown as sub-numbers of parent villages—as separate and independent villages.

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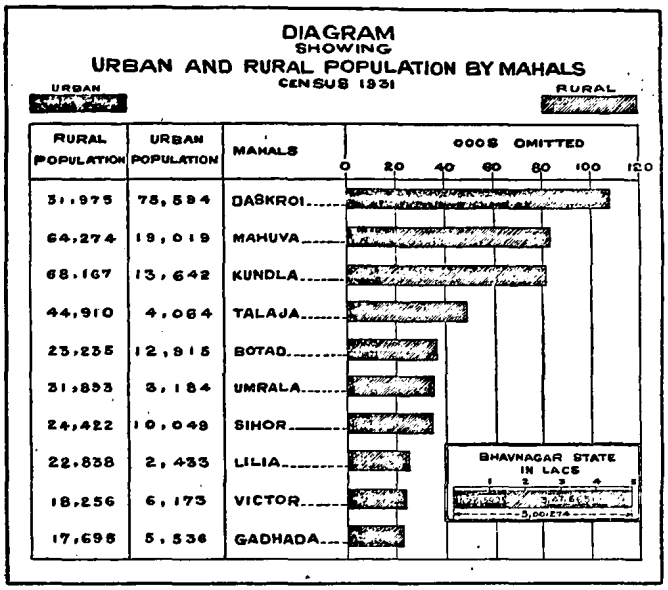
reoccupation of old villages bespeak a state of agricultural and rural prosperity, in the absence of which there is no incentive to the people from outside or to the people settled in old villages to settle themselves into new *parās*, or return to their original places of habitation.

83. Diagram.—The urban and rural population of the State is compared in the following diagram by Mahals. The inset compares similar statistics for



the State as a whole. The length of the black portion also measures the size of the ten towns of the State which are none other than the head-quarters of the Mahals except in the case of Victor, where Port Victor and not the town of Rajula is the seat of the Vahivatdar.

84. Villages classified according to Population.—The towns excepted, the total number of inhabited villages comes to 644; and the rural population is 3,47,665 or 69·5 per cent. of the total population of the State. Classifying the villages according to their population, they may be conveniently arranged into four groups of villages of (*i*) small size under 500, (*ii*) average size with 500–1,000, (*iii*) medium size with 1,000–2,000 and (*iv*) large size with 2,000–5,000 population. The following statement compares the figures of places and population of each of these four types of villages. The figures in the brackets show the percentage which each type bears to the total number of inhabited places. The last two columns give the numbers per mille of the rural population living in each type of villages in 1921 and 1931. The small size villages are in a majority and appropriate 377 or 59 per cent.; average size villages 190 or 29 per cent.; medium size villages 68 or 11 per cent.; and the large size villages 9 or only 1 per cent. of the total number of inhabited places. But the average and middle size villages claim between themselves 2,23,090 or 64 per cent. of the rural population. Out of every thousand of the rural population, 295 live in villages of small size, 379 in villages of average size, 263 in villages of medium size and only 63 in villages of large size. The greater part of the rural population lives in villages of the

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average size. 642 persons per mille of the village dwellers live in villages with

Villages	1931		1921		Population per mille of rural population	
	Places	Population	Places	Population	1931	1921
Small Size	377	1,02,606	433	1,11,716	295	370
Under (500)	(59)		(67)			
Average Size	190	1,31,538	152	1,06,271	379	352
(500-1,000)	(29)		(23)			
Medium Size	68	91,552	56	70,431	263	234
(1,000-2,000)	(11)		(9)			
Large Size	9	22,724	6	13,403	63	44
(2,000-5,000)	(1)		(1)			

500-2,000 population. A comparison between the figures of 1921 and 1931 discloses an appreciable decline in the population and number of places of small size. On the other hand, the population and number of the remaining sizes of villages register a uniform increase. This is a clear indication of the promotion of the villages to a class higher than the one to which they belonged in 1921, as a result of the growth of their population. The reduction in the number of small size villages and increase in the number of villages of the upper classes are a welcome sign of rural prosperity. The same result manifests itself in the comparison of the figures of the last two Censuses of the distribution of the rural population between the villages of various sizes. While the number per thousand of the rural population living in villages under 500 has decreased from 370 to 295, that in villages between 500 and 2,000 has increased from 586 to 642 within the last ten years. The number and population of large size villages also show an increase, but their number (9) is very small. There is thus a great scarcity of large size villages with a population between 2,000 and 5,000.

85. Average Population per Village.—Taking the total number of inhabited villages including the towns which are 655, the average population per village comes to 531 souls. But taking all the revenue villages together, which are 666, the average population is found to be 522 persons per village. The average population per village thus comes above the minimum limit fixed for an average village. This accounts for the aggregation of most of the rural population in the villages of average size, as also for the fall in the number and population of the villages of smaller size.

86. Occupied Houses.—The statistics in the margin compare the number of occupied houses in urban and rural areas in 1921 with those in 1931. While the urban increase is 4,484 or 14·8 per cent., the rural increase amounts to 5,856 or 8 per cent. The corresponding increases in the urban and rural population are 22·5 and 8 per cent. respectively. The opposite table which compares the number of persons per house shows that while there are 4 persons living in a town house, the corresponding number for a country house is found to be 5. The latter figure points not only to a state of rural prosperity, but also bears out the inference arrived at in Chapter I regarding the greater disintegration of the family life in urban tracts than in the rural.

Occupied House	1931	1921	Net increase during the decade	Percentage increase during the decade
Urban ...	34,589	30,185	4,484	14·8
Rural ...	74,672	68,816	5,856	8

Year	Number of Persons per house in	
	Towns	Country
1921	4	4
1931	4	5

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87. Mean Distance between Villages.—The number of Census villages has been found to correspond closely to the number of residential villages. It will, therefore, be interesting to calculate the mean distance between them, assuming each village to be a point. The formula will be:—

$$d^2 = \frac{200}{n\sqrt{3}}$$

Where d is the distance between each village and n is the number of villages in 100 square miles. Here n=22, as there will be 22 villages in 100 square miles. So according to the formula stated above and worked out as in the foot-note,[1] the mean distance between the villages of the State is found to be 2·3 miles. They are thus in close proximity to each other.

88. The Village Economy.—The old order of the village economy has under the influence of the western civilization yielded place to quite a new and different order. It no longer maintains its former self-contained and self-sufficing character. Facilities of transport and extension of communications have breached the stronghold of the old village system by bringing the rural population in an ever increasing touch with the townsmen. The villager is attracted to urban areas by the growth of commerce and industries which provide him with more profitable employment in non-agricultural pursuits. These tendencies would suggest a decline in the proportion of the village dwelling population which is inevitable in view of the greater increase recorded in the urban population. A comparison of the percentages of increase in the population shows that whereas the present Census registers an increase of 17·3 per cent. in the general population, the increases in the urban and rural population are 22·6 and 8 per cent. respectively. Again, as against 708, the persons per mille living in villages in 1921, there are 695 in 1931. The increase is not purely natural but is also due to the migration of the rural population to towns. But this should not be taken to mean that the villages are fast losing to the towns. Because the rural population already discloses an increase of 8 per cent. which is the normal rate of natural increase during a healthy intercensal period, and so all that can be possibly concluded is that the growing contact that has been established between town and country has set into motion certain currents which are working for the dissolution of the static condition of the rural society.

89. The Break-up of the old Village Economy.—The general transformation which the whole system has undergone can be seen in the altered outlook on life which inspires the present day villager. In days gone by, his wants were few and comforts practically nil. But his increasing association with the town has now generated in him a desire to crave for himself certain comforts which his fore-fathers did not even dream of. What would then have become a luxury has now become an indispensable necessity. The modern villager is rebuked for his complete dependence for the supply of those articles which he once used to produce for himself. His two main necessities were food and clothing, and both these he produced by his own labours. This enabled him to lead a simple and

1. If N be the number of hexagons in 100 sq. miles, n=3N

The area of one hexagon $= \frac{3d^2\sqrt{3}}{2}$

and that of N hexagon $= \frac{3Nd^2\sqrt{3}}{2}$

$\frac{nd^2\sqrt{3}}{\sqrt{2}}$ = (By hypothesis) 100 sq. miles.

Hence $d^2 = \frac{200}{n\sqrt{3}}$ and n = 22

$d^2 = \frac{200}{22\sqrt{3}} = 5{\cdot}29$

d = 2·3 miles.

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easy life. But now that he does not do so, the older folk deplore the use of finer cloth which has taken place of the coarser and hand-made *khaddar* which his family used to make for the use of all its members. While the villager under the older system would walk away miles of distance, his brother of to-day travels by rail or motor even for a distance of a mile or two. The ancient institution of the *gramya* or Village Panchayat which exercised a great hold upon the village life, and enabled the village people to regulate their own affairs, administer social and economic justice, and inflict condign punishment upon the offenders, has completely fallen into disuse. It was a system based upon mutual trust, respect for the elders, and co-operation among its members. But the forces of disruption have appeared on the scene. What was once a sort of village family, presided over and governed by the council of elders is now showing separatist and destructive tendencies under the influence of rival and jealous factions in which the inhabitants of the village have arrayed themselves. They no longer lead that sort of communal life, in which every member contributed his mite towards the well-being of the rest. They are no longer animated by the principle of co-operation, service and sacrifice for the common good, but work under the principle of every body for himself, and God for us all. In short, the rural life as at present constituted is in the melting-pot, and has suffered a complete break-down under the stress of modern economic conditions. Reference must, however, be made to the efforts that are being made to rehabilitate the village economy by means of a special legislation promulgated in this behalf. It aims at making the villagers self-reliant and self-governing by the grant of local *panchayats*. For, as suggested at page 7 of the State Administration Report for 1929–30,

> "The grant of Panchayat will mean the practical transfer of the whole village administration to the villagers themselves with the minimum of outside interference. For, it vests the Panchayat with the power to select and nominate persons of its own choice for the village offices of Talati, Mukhi, Patel, Chowkidars, etc., and the latter, therefore, will be real servants and not masters of the village, rendering better, more loyal and efficient service. This will also better enable the Panchayat to control and keep on their proper behaviour, the bad and more intractable characters in the village. In an extreme case the village can also ask for the removal from their midst of a particularly desperate and dangerous character, who cannot be tackled by the ordinary process of law."

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CHAPTER III

BIRTHPLACE AND MIGRATION

SECTION I—TYPES OF MIGRATION

90. The Basis of the Figures.—Column 13 of the Census schedule which forms the basis of the figures of Birthplace required the enumerator to enter for each person the District or State in which he was born, and the name of the Province was to be added to the district of birth, if he was born in another province. But only the name of the country was to be entered in the case of a person born outside India. The statistics thus collected have been compiled into Imperial Table VI for the State as a whole, and the City of Bhavnagar, from which are also prepared the Subsidiary Tables inserted in the Chapter.

91. The Nature and Accuracy of Returns.—The units of birthplace given in column 1 of Table VI show against them the persons, males and females born in each unit and enumerated in the State, and the City separately. A clue is thus supplied to the native born and foreign born persons present in the State territories on the Night of the Census. The foreign born, meaning thereby the persons born in places outside Bhavnagar, will be frequently referred to in the Chapter as immigrants. But as a matter of fact, they are not immigrants truly so-called in the sense of permanent settlers in an alien tract. The term, *immigrant*, as used in the Census parlance means a person 'born in one place but enumerated in another'. Such a meaning, however conventional from the point of a Census, is nevertheless arbitrary and artificial, and fails to give any idea of the places of normal residence of the enumerated. It classifies as immigrant only some who are genuinely so, but there is a host of others to whom the term cannot be properly applied. It includes not only permanent and semi-permanent residents in a locality, but also casual and temporary visitors who happen to be within the jurisdiction of the State on that eventful night. Travellers by train or steamer whose presence is merely accidental will figure as immigrants. Social customs affect the returns by showing as an outsider a person whose mother goes to her father's house in a neighbouring village in a foreign jurisdiction at the time of her first or subsequent deliveries. Economic stress which is instrumental in bringing about a migration of a periodic or semi-permanent nature also influences the figures. The children of repatriated Indians who have returned home from South Africa will be treated as immigrants even though their permanent residence will be within the State territories. And a child born to a true immigrant will be shown as Bhavnagar born, if its birth takes place in the State. The Birthplace returns thus far from distinguishing between a true immigrant and emigrant and giving any indication as to the people normally residing in the State, supply statistics regarding the Bhavnagar born and the foreign born. While the former may include those whose true native place is outside the State, the latter will include those whose native place is within the State. But in view of the difficulty of combining the figures of normal residence with those of birthplace, and the relatively smaller percentage of persons affected, the Census Commissioner, Mr. Marten, pointed out in 1921 :—

> "Birthplace, however, is at best a rough means of measuring either the regional movements or the foreign constituents of a population."[1]

But the English Census differs from the Indian in that it reinforces the figures of birthplace with those of nationality, and tries to distinguish between persons born in and outside the United Kingdom, and if the latter, whether "British born", "Naturalised British Subject," or a foreigner.

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 82.

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As for the accuracy of returns, it might at once be stated that there could be no error arising from the misunderstanding of the very plain and simple instructions issued to the Census workers. But all the enumerators did not evince the same degree of zeal and industry in tracing the villages of birth to their districts or States, and Provinces. Not infrequently only the names of villages or towns of birth were recorded. Many a difficulty was caused in the Abstraction Office not only by the similarity of names, but also by the total unfamiliarity of some of the places returned which called for frequent reference to the Post and Telegraph Guide. Wherever possible the blanks were, as usual, filled in by entering Bhavnagar, the State of enumeration. Appendix II to Part II of the Code was also useful in relegating the States and Districts to their proper Agency and Province. As great care was taken in avoiding the incompleteness of the statistics at the time of tabulation, and as the proportion of the foreign born forms a very small percentage of the total population, the birthplace records are trustworthy and accurate, and can be used with confidence for practical purposes.

92. Types of Migration.—The five different kinds of migration considered by the former Census Commissioners for India, and referred to once again by Dr. Hutton, the present Census Commissioner, and defined in his Note, have been distinguished as follows:—

"(*i*) *Casual*, or the minor movements between adjacent villages. These affect the returns only when the villages in question happen to lie on opposite sides of the line which divides one district (*or state*)[1] from another."

While the short distance movements between the State villages as from Bhandaria to Trapaj pass away unnoticed, extra-state movements between trans-border villages as from Nari or Bhavnagar City to Chitra would be tantamount to migration. This type of migration is of very little economic importance, and mainly results from the widespread Indian custom of receiving a bride from another village, and from the fact that the young married women return to their parents' home for the first or subsequent confinement. Thus a child born in Ranpur, though really a subject and resident of the State, will come to be treated as a migrant by the Census. But this kind of casual migration can be very easily distinguished from the rest by comparing the sex proportions of the persons enumerated in the State and born in contiguous foreign areas. The females in such cases will outnumber the males.

"(*ii*) *Temporary*.—Due to journeys on business, visits to places of pilgrimage and the like, and the temporary demand for labour when new roads and railways are under construction."

The temporary flow of outsiders is avoided by timing the Census date in such a way as to exclude the possibility of any large gatherings or assemblages meeting at the time of the Census. Though no such fair or festival was held between the preliminary and final enumeration, accretion to the figures of foreign born from sojourners on business is unavoidable. No new construction of roads or railway was in progress, but the ready employment provided by the works going on in connection with the Coronation and Wedding of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, increased substantially the number of this type of immigrants.

"(*iii*) *Periodic*.—Such as the annual migration which takes place in different tracts at harvest time, and the seasonal movements of pastoral nomads."

Periodic migration is known to be at its highest at a particular period of the year, as for instance, at the harvest time which also coincides with the period of busy commercial and industrial activity. At the time of the Census, it is usually near

1. Italics are mine.

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the maximum'. The prospering trade conditions of the City cannot but be instrumental in returning a fair number of the foreign born come to the State for employment in the cotton mill, at the dock and in the railway workshop, during the period of brisk commercial activity as also after the monsoon when field labour no longer occupies them.

"(*iv*) *Semi-permanent.*—The natives of one place reside and earn their living in another, but retain their connection with their own homes, where they leave their families and to which they return in their old age, and at more or less regular intervals in the meantime."

People very often leave their birthplaces either for business or service, and settle in other districts, provinces or states. But their natural attachment to their native place comes in the way of their becoming permanent settlers at places where they serve or carry on business. They maintain their connection with their homes to which they ultimately retire, and where they frequently go on leave or for rest, but more particularly to celebrate marriages or perform funeral rites and give caste dinners. The proportion of this type of population in the State is evidently very small, though greater to-day than ten years back as a result of the rapid commercial advancement of the capital. Enterprising subjects of the State, in their turn, migrate to such far and distant cities like Bombay and Rangoon, and even outside India, from which they come back from time to time. There is, of course, a growing tendency on the part of periodic migration to be semi-permanent and of semi-permanent migration to be permanent. It is these migrations alone which are of economic importance.

"(*v*) *Permanent.—i.e.*, Where overcrowding drives people away, or the superior attractions of some other locality induce people to settle there."

Of the two causes aforementioned as inducing people to leave the land of their birth, the former should be left out of account in the case of the people of this State. The latter consideration, however, deserves our attention. It is a well-known fact that some persons living in tracts adjacent to and beyond Bhavnagar have been tempted to leave their native place and settle within its boundaries. As for example, the contiguous Mahal of Gogha has lost some of its population to Bhavnagar owing to the superior attraction of the latter and the disappearance of trade at the former.

Lastly, attention may be also drawn to a new form of migration which has, of late, been taking place. It is the daily migration arising out of the tendency of a certain section of the population to live at quiet and healthier places outside the overcrowded urban areas where they come everyday by train during the hours of business. This type of migration, though taking place on a small scale, is not unknown to Bhavnagar. There are some persons who prefer to live at neighbouring places like Vartej and Sihor whence they come daily to the City for their work.

93. How the Types can be distinguished.—The five main types of migration explained above are by no means exclusive, and do not permit of drawing any hard and fast line between them. What has been illustrated before as a casual kind of migration resulting from matrimonial exchanges between adjacent villages of two different states is truly speaking of a permanent nature. For, when a girl leaves her father's house for her father-in-law's, the migration is not casual but permanent, as thenceforth she resides at her husband's house for the rest of her life. The Census records do not distinguish between these different forms of migration. An unmistakable clue is, however, supplied by the sex statistics and the distance of the district of enumeration from the district of birth. In the case of marriage migration, it is the females that markedly preponderate. But in the case of temporary and periodic migration, while the females are in excess among the pilgrims, the seasonal flow of labour is in favour of males. The semi-permanent.

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migration generally favours males, the female proportion varying inversely with the distance of their native place from the State or district of enumeration. But where the movement is of a permanent character, both the sexes fare equally well. The statistics on the margin vividly illustrate the foregoing remarks. The absolute and proportional figures of male and female immigrants are compared for contiguous areas, non-contiguous areas, and foreign countries. Among the contiguous areas are included (*i*) all the Kathiawar States comprised in the Western India States Agency, Eastern and Western Kathiawar Agencies, (*ii*) the British District of Ahmedabad, and (*iii*) the State of Baroda. The rest of India has been treated as non-contiguous. As matrimonial alliances generally take place with people in contiguous areas, female immigrants from these parts outnumber the male. There are as many as 35,592 females as against 17,188 males enumerated in the State and born in adjacent areas. Their sex ratio is found to be 206 females to 100 males; and this high female figure is not at all surprising when the casual nature of migration is borne in mind. But the numbers coming to the State from non-contiguous areas heavily fall off, and the female ratio reduces itself to 83. The element of distance as decreasing the proportion of females is observed in the percentage of female immigrants to male further going down to 49 in the case of persons born outside India. The statistics thus considered suggest the existence of an inverse correlation between the proportion of females to males and the distance of birthplace from the district or state of enumeration.

Immigrants from	Males	Females	Percentage of female immigrants to male
Total ...	19,487	37,256	191
Contiguous areas ...	17,188	35,392	206
Non-contiguous areas ...	2,199	1,815	83
Outside India	100	49	49

94. The Main Figures.—Of the total population of 5,00,274 persons enumerated in the State on the Census Night, 4,43,531 or 88 per cent. are Bhavnagar born, 56,594 or 11 per cent. are born in British Provinces, Aden and Indian States beyond Bhavnagar, and only 149 are born outside the Indian Empire. Out of the total number of 56,743 persons enumerated in the State but born outside it 12,461 or 22 per cent. live in the City of Bhavnagar alone. But out of 4,014 that are returned as born in non-contiguous areas, as many as 2,221 or 55 per cent. are found in the City. These figures testify not only to the cosmopolitan nature of the City population, but also to the employment that its occupations offer to persons born in more remote tracts of the country.

SECTION II—IMMIGRATION

95. Immigration.—The total strength of the immigrant population in the State has been noted to be 56,743 or 12 per cent. of the general population. It will now be examined in detail with special reference to the provinces and states from which its different constituents are drawn.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

IMMIGRATION (Actual Figures)

PLACE OF ENUMERATION	BORN IN											
	STATE			Contiguous parts of other states or provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other states or provinces, etc.			Outside India		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Bhavnagar State	4,43,531	2,37,649	2,05,882	52,580	17,188	35,392	4,014	2,219	1,795	149	100	49

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96. Immigration from Contiguous Parts.—The total immigrant population that hails from contiguous areas as defined before amounts to 52,580 persons. The marginal statement shows the different main tracts from which it is drawn. The States of Western India Agency excluding Palanpur and Radhanpur send 17,315, out of which 7,211 are credited to the State of Palitana alone, owing to its close proximity to the State of Bhavnagar. There seems to be greater matrimonial migration between this State and Palitana than between this State and any other State of the Agency. All the contiguous areas referred to in the margin show marked excess of females over males. The female migrants from the British district of Ahmedabad and the State of Baroda owe their preponderance to the operation of the same social factor in the contiguous Mahals of Dholka, Dhandhuka and Gogha of the former, and Amreli of the latter. There is also some seasonal or periodic flow of agricultural and industrial labour from these parts. A reference to Imperial Table VI will show that not only the totals for the Agencies referred to in the margin but everyone of their constituent States exhibits the same tendency of the sex statistics.

Place of Birth	Males	Females
Total ...	**17,188**	**35,392**
Western India States Agency (Ex. of Palanpur and Radhanpur) ...	5,669	11,646
Eastern Kathiawar Agency ...	4,960	9,866
Western Kathiawar Agency ...	483	1,179
Ahmedabad ...	3,518	6,573
Baroda	2,558	6,128

97. Immigration from Non-contiguous Parts.—The margin reproduces the figures of immigrants from non-contiguous regions in India. With the exception of the contiguous district of Ahmedabad, the Province of Bombay excluding the States and City sends 1,994 immigrants, the States and the City of Bombay respectively contributing 562 and 696. Equality of the sexes among the Bombay districts results from their comparative proximity to the State which enables the immigrants to settle with their families. The migration which takes place between them and the State is thus of a semi-permanent character. And for that very reason, Bombay States, *i. e.*, the States in political relation with the Government of Bombay, would have disclosed the same tendency, if the State of Cambay which is responsible for 56 males and 300 females were separately considered. The smaller male proportion in the latter case is brought about by the marriage relations which some people of the State have with their caste brethren in that State. The remaining British Provinces and Indian States considered by the margin also favour males. Barring Madras, C. P. and Berar, Bengal, Bihar

Place of Birth	Males	Females
Total ...	**2,219**	**1,795**
British Provinces ...	*1,852*	*1,598*
Bombay Ex. of Ahmedabad District[1] ...	765	533
Bombay City	327	369
Bombay States	134	428
Palanpur and Radhanpur ...	88	58
Bombay Unspecified ...	23	14
Madras	15	14
Central Provinces and Berar ...	17	14
Punjab	228	49
Baluchistan	...	1
Ajmer-Merwara	15	7
Bengal	24	19
Bihar and Orissa ...	8	6
Burma	27	18
North-West Frontier Province ...	22	...
Delhi	10	3
United Provinces ...	149	65
Indian States and Agencies ...	*295*	*145*
Mysore	22	6
Hyderabad	12	11
Kashmir	1	...
Gwalior	6	3
Travancore	1	1
Cochin	8	1
Central India Agency ...	14	7
Rajputana Agency... ...	231	116
Portuguese Settlements ...	*68*	*49*
India Unclassified ...	*2*	*3*
Aden	*2*	...

1. Also excludes Bombay States and City.

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and Orissa, and the State of Hyderabad, the sex ratio among whose immigrants is fairly equal, the proportions of the sexes among the persons born in the remaining units tend to vary inversely with the distance of the birthplace from the State. Their migration to the State is of a semi-permanent character, and is occasioned by their leaving their homes for business, trade or service. The immigrants from Bombay come to the State mainly for trade or business. Some of those who have been recorded as born in Bombay and enumerated in the State are not immigrants. The mere accident of their birth having taken place at a time when their parents were living there is responsible for their being shown as migrants, while as a matter of fact they are the genuine residents of the State. The United Provinces and Rajputana Agency account for 149 and 231 males and 65 and 116 females respectively. A comparison of the State figures with those of the City will show that a substantial proportion of these persons consists of Marwari labourers working at the *bunder*. Out of 149 males that come from the United Provinces, and 231 that come from the Rajputana Agency, 101 and 206 respectively reside in the City of Bhavnagar. The Punjab sends a fair contingent of 228 males and 49 females of whom 197 and 45 respectively are City dwellers. Some of them are in the employ of the State Railway. While the Portuguese Settlements in India send 68 males and 49 females, Aden sends only 2 males.

98. Extra-Indian Immigration.—Since distance from the place of enumeration determines to a very great extent the flow of immigrants to the State, the quota of countries outside India to the foreign born population enumerated in the State is very very small. The table on the margin shows that though there is a fair distribution of this type of population between the different countries of the world, a substantial portion, *viz.*, 142 or 95 per cent. has been returned as born in Arabia, England and Wales, and Africa. Their respective contributions come to 44, 23 and 75 persons. Among the Arabian born there are only 2 females, but the proportion of females among the British born rises up to 64 per cent. The Arabs in the State are those *chaus* and menial servants in the State employ whose traditional reputation for loyalty and faithfulness to their master marks them out from others as fit sentries at the entrance of every important State building. Their immigration which was originally semi-permanent has shown a tendency to be permanent. Some of these Arab *chauses* have settled in the State and intermarried with the local Musalmans. The British born on the other hand are high officers serving either on the State or Railway side. They belong to that type of semi-permanent migrants who leave their native place for service, and return home in old age when they retire on pension. Naturally, the proportion of females, though not equal to that of males, is fairly large. But the 75 persons returned as African born are not genuine immigrants, though they happen to be born in Africa. They are the children born to those repatriated subjects of the State who had migrated to that continent for business or service. Among the remaining persons born outside India, and enumerated in the State, one each comes from Afghanistan, Ceylon, Straits Settlements and Malaya, Switzerland and Jamaica and two from Scotland.

Place of Birth	Males	Females
Total	100	49
Afghanistan	1	...
Arabia	42	2
Ceylon	...	1
Straits Settlements and Malaya ...	1	...
England and Wales	14	9
Scotland	1	1
Switzerland	1	...
Africa	39	36
Jamaica	1	...

Before the present discussion is concluded, it will be useful to consider the proportion per thousand of the actual population born in the State, in

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contiguous and non-contiguous areas, and in territories outside India. The proportions marginally quoted bear out the oft-repeated remark about the relation between the distance of native place from the place of enumeration and the number returned. In every thousand of the general population, nearly 887 are born in the State, 105 in contiguous parts, 8 in non-contiguous and ·3 outside India.

Actual population born in	Proportion per mille of those enumerated in the State
State	*886·6*
Contiguous areas of other provinces and States ...	105·1
Non-contiguous areas ...	8·0
Outside India ...	·3
Total	**1,000**

99. Immigrants by Religion.—It will be interesting to compare the religious composition of the immigrant population with that of the general population. The former statistics shown in the margin have been especially compiled from the Compilation Register. Nearly 84 per cent. of the immigrants are Hindu, 8·7 Muslim and 6·7 Jain. But the Zoroastrian and Christian immigrants are only 3 and 4 per mille respectively. The order follows the order of strength of each religion in the general population. But the religious composition of the total population is not identical with that of the immigrant, the latter having a relatively larger proportion of Muslims and Jains than the former.

Religion	Proportion per mille of the total population	Proportion per mille of the immigrant population
Hindu ...	866·0	839
Muslim ...	85·5	87
Jain ...	47·1	67
Zoroastrian ...	·6	3
Christian ...	·6	4

100. Immigrants to the City.—The nature and sex proportions of the immigrant population of the City differ to a great extent from those of the State population. The vast majority of the State immigrants is derived from short distance or casual migration which results from matrimonial exchanges between the people of this State and those of adjacent British or State areas. But social causes which mainly contribute to this result are in the case of the City reinforced by economic considerations. In the general populations while the sex ratio of immigrants from non-contiguous areas will show a male excess owing to its semi-permanent character, that of immigrants from the contiguous areas will exhibit a marked female preponderance. But economic factors enter into play to disturb the natural sex proportions of the immigrants to the City from contiguous areas. The bulk of this migration is not only temporary or casual, but to a large extent periodic and semi-permanent. Persons flock to the City for employment into its growing industrial and commercial concerns. The foregoing remarks will be amply demonstrated by the marginal statistics which compare the numbers of male and female immigrants to the City of Bhavnagar from contiguous territories. As against 5,005 male immigrants, there are 5,138 female. The same tendency is evidenced even by all the different parts for which the figures have been reproduced. But the negligible excess in favour of females in some places reveals the inherent tendency of contiguous areas to show their preference for the weaker of the two sexes. The numbers of persons born in various non-contiguous areas and enumerated in the State

Units of Birthplace	Males	Females
Contiguous areas ...	**5,005**	**5,138**
Western India States Agency (Ex. of Palanpur) and Radhanpur ...	1,738	1,789
Western Kathiawar Agency	75	121
Eastern Kathiawar Agency	1,314	1,376
Baroda	462	533
Ahmedabad ...	1,416	1,319

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and City are shown in the margin. It has been already noted before that 55 per cent. of the immigrants from non-contiguous regions live in the City of Bhavnagar alone. It is the persons that come to the State from these distant parts that measure the real movement of population to the State. People from far off tracts leave their homes in search of employment. They would migrate to those places only where they can have an opportunity for earning their bread. The overcrowded agriculture cannot have any attraction for them. A substantial majority of these foreign born will be, therefore, found in the City, as it is the urban occupations and the State service alone which offer them a ready outlet for the employment of their energies.

Units of Birthplace	State	City
Total	**4,163**	**2,315**
Non-contiguous areas...	*4,014*	*2,221*
Bombay ex. of Ahmedabad	1,994	1,020
Bombay States ...	562	141
Palanpur and Radhanpur	146	96
Aden	2	2
British Provinces ...	720	501
Indian States & Agencies	431	342
Portuguese Settlements	117	96
Unspecified ...	42	23
Outside India ...	*149*	*94*
Other Asiatic Countries	47	39
European Countries ...	26	26
Africa	75	28
America	1	1

SECTION III—EMIGRATION

101. Emigration.—Just as *immigration* represents the inward flow of outsiders or foreign born population to the State, *emigration* denotes the outward movement of the natural population to places outside the State territories. Emigrants are, therefore, persons born in the State but enumerated outside its limits. The statistics relating to emigrants serve the purpose of estimating the natural population of the State by adding the number of the Bhavnagar born enumerated outside the State to those recorded in the State. They also enable one to gauge the total volume of migration by striking a balance between the various currents and cross currents of immigration and emigration. The statistics for the emigrant population are obtained from the different Provincial and State Census Superintendents in India. Unfortunately, the statistics of the persons born in the Bhavnagar State and enumerated elsewhere are incomplete owing to the decision of the Census Commissioner for India not to sort separately the figures of persons born in the States belonging to the Western India States Agency, but to compile them under the collective term last mentioned. The 'Western India States Agency' is merely a political unit standing for a collection of States grouped together for political and administrative convenience. And so, there can be hardly any practical utility in showing the figures of birthplace under this common head. The decision is to be particularly deplored in view of the fact that a separate Report and Tables Volume is going to be published for the first time on this occasion for the Western India States Agency. In 1921, when the figures for the Kathiawar States were printed in the Bombay Volume for the Imperial Tables, persons born in this State and enumerated elsewhere were shown separately. It is hoped that separate figures for each component unit of the Western India States Agency will be given in future in order that each State can form an estimate of its natural population. It has, however, been possible to collect these figures from some of the British Provinces, Indian States and Agencies which had tabulated them separately in their Tables. They are shown opposite for the information of the reader. Some information regarding the emigrants from this State has also been gathered from another quarter and given in the margin for what it is worth. It was collected through the agency of the local officials who returned the questionnaire regard-

Place where enumerated	Emigrants from the State 1931
BRITISH PROVINCES	
Punjab	0
N. W. Frontier Province ...	0
Delhi	0
United Provinces	8
INDIAN STATES AND AGENCIES	
Cochin	0
Baroda	17,078
Nawanagar	1,488
Palitana	6,923
Hyderabad	0
Kashmir	0
Gwalior	4
Travancore	0
Central India Agency ...	131

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ing emigration by consulting the local residents. The statistics thus gathered, though incomplete, are not without some utility. They err on the side of under-statement rather than that of exaggeration. The State of Palitana which actually receives 6,923 persons from Bhavnagar has been estimated to receive only 22. But the discrepancy is not so great as it at first sight appears to be, when it is borne in mind that a layman takes notice only of that kind of migration which is of an economic and permanent nature but not of that which results from social causes, *e. g.*, marriage migration. Similar statistics have not been received from the City which must be sending out a considerable number of its natural population. Over and above the emigrants to other parts of the country, there is an appreciable number of persons living overseas. There is also an unmistakable clue to the emigrants to South Africa in the returns of African born considered before, and supported by the marginal table which estimates them at 142 for the whole State, excluding the City of Bhavnagar.

Place of Emigration	Persons
Total ...	**2,988**
Palitana ...	22
Ahmedabad ...	365
Gujarat ...	924
Karachi ...	42
Bombay ...	1,151
Khandesh ...	30
Sinor ...	5
Bangalore ...	11
Madras ...	70
Calcutta ...	126
Jharia ...	10
Rangoon ...	90
Africa ...	142

102. Comparison with 1921.—An increase or decrease in the immigrant population of a tract serves as an index to its flourishing or decadent nature. A comparison of the figures of the past two Censuses may, therefore, be of some interest. But before any such attempt is made, it is necessary to refer to the Birthplace returns of 1921. Defective tabulation in that year balks the way of thorough and satisfactory comparison. While the persons enumerated in the State and born outside have been shown under various units of birthplace, no column was provided for persons born and enumerated in the State itself. Figures for all the Kathiawar States have been lumped together under the heading 'Kathiawar'. No comparison with the present figures of immigrants from contiguous areas is, therefore, possible. The marginal statement compares for the past two Censuses the figures of persons born in all the non-contiguous parts, countries outside India, and some contiguous tracts for which separate statistics for 1921 are available. Of the areas treated as contiguous at the present Census, separate figures for the preceding Census can be had for the British District of Ahmedabad, and the Indian States of Cutch and Baroda. They jointly account for 19,168 persons as against 9,836 returned in 1921. The number of their immigrants has more than doubled during the last ten years. While much of the increase is accounted for by the increase in matrimonial exchanges owing to the growth of population, a substantial contribution is likely to have been made by the periodic migration due to a rise in the demand for the seasonal flow of labour. But the real movement of population as represented by the increase in immigrants from all the non-contiguous areas shown in the marginal statement from 3,014 in 1921 to 4,014 in 1931 is brought about by the extensive industrial and commercial growth of the State during the past decennium.

Units of Birthplace	1921	1931
Bombay exclusive of States ...	6,941	12,085
Ahmedabad	4,850	10,091
Other Bombay Districts ...	1,415	1,298
Bombay City	676	696
Bombay States	260	562
Cutch	178	391
Baroda	4,808	8,686
Other British Provinces ...	270	711
Indian States and Agencies ...	171	440
Portuguese Settlements ...	88	117
Other Asiatic Countries ...	28	47
European Countries ...	8	26
Africa	11	75
America	...	1

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CHAPTER IV

AGE

SECTION I—INTRODUCTORY

103. Reference to Statistics.—Absolute figures of age, sex and civil condition by religion are shown in Imperial Table VII. It is divided into two parts—Part A relates to the State as a whole, and Part B to the City of Bhavnagar. In Table VIII are given the statistics relating to the civil condition by age for selected castes. Both these Tables supply the statistical material relevant to this Chapter, as well as to two succeeding Chapters on Sex, and Civil Condition. The proportionate figures will be discussed in the Subsidiary Tables given in the body of the Chapter.

104. The Census Meaning of Age.—For making the entry relating to age, the following instructions were printed on the enumeration book cover.

"Column 7 (Age).—Enter the number of years to nearest birthday or the nearest age (in years) known. For infants less than six months old, enter 0 and for infants over six months enter 1."

The Census Code amplified these instructions as under:—

"Enter age as it will be on the birthday nearest to the date of enumeration, *i.e.*, to the nearest approximate number of years. Zero may be entered for children less than six months and not the number of months, which may be mistaken for years by the abstractors. When the age stated is manifestly absurd the enumerator may use his discretion in amending it. Great attention is to be paid to this matter as it is very important that ages are recorded as accurately as possible."

The foregoing instructions show a little modification upon those of 1921. Only the completed years according to the ages last birthday were then entered. But Mr. Meikle, Actuary to the Government of India, seeing that owing to the inaccuracy or guess work of the enumerators the ages next birthday or last birthday ultimately turned out to be the ages nearest birthday, strongly recommended that in future the ages should be entered to the nearest birthday. The age periods returned at the present occasion were, therefore, 0–½, ½–1½, 1½–2½, and so on. Thus the children aged less than 6 months were to be shown as aged 0, while children aged more than 6 months and less than 19 months were to be entered as aged 1 year. Similarly 15 years were to be recorded for a person aged 14 and 7 months or more, as well as for a person aged 15 years and 6 months or less. The usual discretion to amend the age stated when manifestly absurd was also reserved to the enumerator. But as will be seen later on, though this was a good weapon in the hands of the man on the spot to appraise the correctness or otherwise of the reply given, it was very difficult to exercise it always with due accuracy and caution. Again, the cases were not wanting where the age columns were left blank and were directed to be filled in by the Abstraction Office after having due regard to the rules laid down in this behalf. Local instructions were further issued to draw forth correct replies as to the ages of the uneducated and backward persons by asking them to state their ages with reference to certain outstanding events fresh in their memories. If a person could not tell his present age, he was to be asked how old he was at the Bhinia or Chhapania famines, with reference to which his present age was to be computed. In the absence of other better alternatives, this method has, of course, some value, but very often than not the replies thus received are in the nature of guesses, and as such of doubtful accuracy.

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105. Inaccuracy of Age Returns.—The Indian age returns are proverbially inaccurate, and affected by errors, accidental and deliberate. But they are not peculiar to Indian conditions alone, and are prevalent among all the more advanced and educated countries without a single exception. It is so even in England and Wales, where the householders were directed in 1921 to record both the completed years and months. The months were wanted not for any special tabulation, but for the purpose of securing a true age return by the mental effort and strain on memory which this change of procedure was likely to involve. But in spite of this extra precaution, it was found that even there the number of people who were in real ignorance of their true age was appreciable. It was also remarked that "the heaping of the population at the 'round number' ages will recur so long as such ignorance remains, whatever are the precautions taken during enumeration."[1]

106. Casual Errors.—Taking, therefore, that the incorrect statements of age are inevitable, it will be useful to examine the nature of mis-statements in age returns before embarking upon any detailed analysis of age constitution of the State population. They are of two kinds, casual and intentional. The casual or accidental mis-statements of age result from the ignorance and illiteracy of the people who generally do not understand the value of correct figures, and of the utility of the Census returns to society. So long as this apathy and mass illiteracy continue, any precaution taken to secure correct enumeration must fall short of producing the desired effect.

The true age is known to and returned by only a few. As a matter of fact, no difficulty should have been experienced in getting the correct ages from those of the higher classes, among whom the practice of celebrating birthday generally exists. Moreover, the Hindus who are more or less used to having horoscopes cast for every new-born babe may be naturally expected to possess a correct knowledge of their ages and those of their families. The practice of having *varshaphalas* forecasting astrologically the events of each new year, though nowadays getting out of vogue, does exist among the higher caste Hindus. All such customs must be helpful in getting true returns of age at least from the members of the higher communities. But practical experience runs counter to our expectations. All that it says is that the age returns of the higher classes are more approximately correct than those of others which are far less accurate. But the real difficulty comes from the rural and backward classes who have hardly got any idea of their age. Much is left to the shrewd guesses either of the heads of families or of the enumerators. The guesses of the former may be correct in some cases backed as they are by the actual knowledge of facts, but those of the latter may—and not without any reason—be thought to be hopelessly incorrect. For, there is no criterion by which the age of a person may be properly judged. If an experiment were to be made in this direction, it will be found that out of every hundred cases tested, the chances of success will hardly be unity. But the enumerator who is a local man well acquainted with the enumerated is in a better position than anybody else to arrive at a fairly accurate result with the aid of the elderly persons in the family. As for the villager, he does not realise the value and importance of correct age returns. He has hardly any idea of the object that the Census has in view in collecting this vast statistical information. In his opinion, any age that is in conformity with his appearance and memory is good enough for the purpose. Two years more or less are of little consequence to him. Moreover, he has got a peculiar affection for certain round digits. 0 and 5 are preferred to 2 and 8, and the latter to any others. Any age in the neighbourhood of 20 and 35 will be returned as 20 and 35 rather than 19 and 33 which may be the correct ages concerned. His ideas about his age and that of his family are vague, loose and indifferent. And these peculiar conditions which influence the age returns are manifested in the concentration of the figures at 0 and 5, and still less at 2 and 8. This experience is not the sole monopoly of India. It has been the experi-

1. *Census Report, England & Wales*, p. 64.

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ence of almost all the Census authorities in the world. But the ignorance and lack of education disturb the Indian figures with a marked degree of heaping at the ages which are the multiples of 0 and 5. This will be apparent from the uneven distribution of the age periods at the last two Censuses which in the absence of the plumping of the figures aforesaid would present a smooth and even distribution of numbers among each successive higher age groups. For, under normal conditions of age distribution the figures in each successive higher group will be less than those in the preceding lower age group. Upto 1921, the figures were sorted direct into the quinary age groups. But on this occasion the elaborate smoothing formula explained later on was for the first time introduced. This has resulted, as will be seen, in the even distribution of the age categories, which is conspicuous by its absence in the figures of 1911 and 1921.

107. Deliberate Errors.—The biased or deliberate mis-statements of age should be distinguished from the casual or accidental mis-statements considered in the preceding para. The idea of wilfully withholding the correct age appears to have been ingrained in the mind of the people even in the past. This sort of popular prejudice which is inherent in the population of this country has found expression in a verse in the *Panchatantra** which is a collection of verses embodying wisdom and common sense. It advises deliberate concealment of age, wealth, family weakness, counsel, sexual connection, medicine, penance, charity and disgrace. The advice seems to have been based upon the prudence of hiding one's weaknesses from others, and among them age takes the first place. The age which is meant by the verse is not the present age or the age attained, but the total number of years which a person is to live as predicted by an astrologer. But this meaning is no longer adhered to, and the verse seems to have been taken to sanction the wilful withholding of the years attained. Apart from the social reason of avoiding the disclosure of one's true age from the other side from whom an aged man is to receive a young bride in marriage, there seems to be no plausible reason for adopting such a course. But it may be argued that human nature is very frail, and constituted as it is, it has always been the ambition of persons to appear younger than they really are. This weakness is to no small extent responsible for many of the deliberate errors in the Census age returns. It has been our experience that there are certain communities, the chief among them being the land-holding classes like the Rajputs and the Kathis whose women have shown a marked degree of aversion to stating their ages correctly. Among them, the under-stating of age has been studiously practised. This tendency has found expression in the popular saying that a Garasia (*i.e.*, Rajput) never becomes old. The ages of unmarried girls who have passed the period of puberty, and of elderly bachelors and widowers who are the prospective candidates for marriage are also under-stated in many communities. On the other hand, there is a tendency to exaggerate the ages of the old and of young married women with children. These errors from under and over-statement of ages which are current among certain classes of people would not have crept into the Census records, had there been a proper understanding of the aims and objects of the Census from which there should be nothing to hide. But this is not possible so long as the people are not sufficiently educated, and even then the difference will be not in the nature, but in the degree of mistakes committed.

It has been noted that the returns of true and correct ages are few and far between. But so far as the errors are merely accidental, they tend to neutralise themselves; and the errors from plumping on round numbers are eliminated by the smoothing formula, as also by examining the incidence of age by tabulating the returns in the series of 5-year groups. Moreover, as the errors are constant and uniform in their extent and operation at each succeeding Census, the statistics can be used with confidence for the purposes of our analysis.

* आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं, मंत्रमैथुनभेषजम् ।
तपोदानापमानं च, नव गोप्यानि यत्नतः ॥ पंचतंत्रम्

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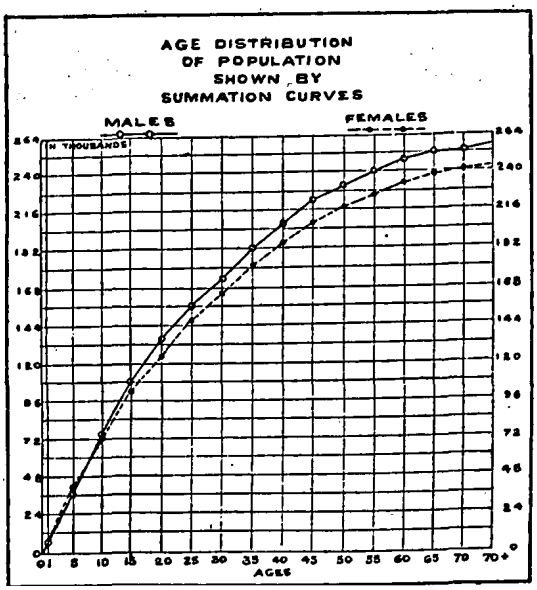
108. Age Groups.—The individual years returned are finally tabulated into quinary groups. But the first five groups are 1-year groups, and are arranged as 0-1, 1-2, 2-3, 3-4 and 4-5. The total for the ages 0-5 which is then given, is followed by 5-year groups upto 65-70, the last being '70 and over.' But in the United States of America, there is one more group for the 'age unknown,' *i.e.*, for the ages not returned. But in this State as in the rest of India, it has been noticed that the Abstraction Office is empowered to fill in the blanks in accordance with certain set rules for arriving at the ages unknown. The American practice is, however, useful in estimating the degree of exactness in the Census returns from the ages not rerurned. Concurrently with the change in the recording of ages, another change of importance which the Government Actuary suggested was regarding the scheduling of ages returned into quinary groups. A somewhat elaborate smoothing formula of first arranging the ages recorded into 3 and 7 age groups was recommended, before they were re-grouped into 5-year age categories. Thus the ages were first arranged alternately into ternary and septenary groups according as the middle age of each group was an odd or an even multiple of 5, *viz.*, 0-3, 4-6, 7-13, 14-16, 17-23 and so on upto 72 and over. These groups were then re-adjusted into quinary groups by taking half of the last and adding it to the next lower group, as the errors due to concentration on round numbers is uniformly distributed. The smoothed figures thus compiled in the present Imperial Table VII are far more reliable and accurate than those of any of the preceding Censuses. It has been claimed that the age distribution arrived at by this new formula makes a closer approximation to ages nearest birthday, and possesses greater actuarial value for the purposes of graduation.

The groups referred to above are by no means absolute. Various groups have been adopted to suit the particular needs of the different objects in view. The ages may be shown under 1-year groups or under 10-year groups, or under any other grouping. But in view of the mis-statements outlined before, it is not advisable to use the individual ages in examining the incidence of age of a vast population. It can be usefully examined under the 5-year series which serve to minimise the risk of inaccuracy involved in approximate returns and heaping on round numbers.

109. Summation or Cumulative Curve.—When the ages of the population are tabulated into individual age periods, combining of figures into any convenient groups is easy. But when the figures have been compiled only in one particular age-group, the numbers in any other age-group can be obtained approximately by graphical method or by computation. The summation curves shown in the margin have been found to be the most convenient for this purpose,the accuracy of the result being dependent upon the scale used and the smoothness of the curves.



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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUPS	Number		Ages less than	Persons less than stated age			
				Number		Per cent.	
1	Males 2	Females 3	4	Males 5	Females 6	Males 7	Females 8
0-1	7,591	7,689	1	7,591	7,689	3	3
0-5	39,494	39,979	5	39,494	39,979	15	16
5-10	36,157	32,884	10	75,651	72,863	29	30
10-15	33,413	29,116	15	1,09,064	1,01,979	42	42
15-20	24,735	22,674	20	1,33,799	1,24,653	52	51
20-25	23,117	22,293	25	1,56,916	1,46,946	61	60
25-30	18,086	17,579	30	1,75,002	1,64,525	68	68
30-35	17,075	16,416	35	1,92,077	1,80,941	75	74
35-40	15,261	14,649	40	2,07,338	1,95,590	81	80
40-45	13,172	12,447	45	2,20,510	2,08,037	86	86
45-50	10,969	9,695	50	2,31,479	2,17,732	90	89
50-55	8,728	7,786	55	2,40,207	2,25,518	93	93
55-60	6,404	6,526	60	2,46,611	2,32,044	96	95
60-65	5,403	5,777	65	2,52,014	2,37,821	98	98
65-70	2,183	2,050	70	2,54,197	2,39,871	99	99
70 and over	2,959	3,247	Over 70	2,57,156	2,43,118	100	100

The figures in columns 5 and 6 are plotted in the diagram. We have already got in the table the figures for 5-year series. If we want them in 4-year or any other grouping, they can now be taken out from the curves. If the males between the ages 14 and 19 inclusive are required, they can be computed by subtracting 1,03,500, the numbers under 14 years from 1,33,799, the numbers aged 20. They are approximately found to be 30,299.

110. Mean Age.—The mean age serves the purpose of comparing the age constitution of one period with that of another. It can be used only for the purpose of exhibiting but not for explaining the variations in age distribution. For, it simply tells us that the incidence of age at one particular Census is different from that at another, and nothing more. The mean age denotes the average age of the persons who were alive on the date of the Census, and should not be confused with the mean duration or expectation of life which is a matter of detailed, expert actuarial analysis. It is, in short, the arithmetic mean of the total of the ages of all the individuals that are enumerated on the Census Night.

The mean age is taken out in various ways. The French statistical method recommended by the Census Commissioner in his Note, and detailed in the Indian Administrative Report of 1901, has been adopted for our purpose. The population at the end of each quinary group, *i.e.*, the total number of persons 5 years and over, 10 years and over, and so on are calculated.

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"The sum of these totals multiplied by 5, the difference of the age divisions, and raised by 2½ times the number of persons dealt with (*i. e.*, in this case the total population) gives the number of years lived. The mean age is obtained by dividing this last number by the number of persons dealt with."[1]

The marginal figures of the mean or average age of the State population for 1911, 1921 and 1931 are all calculated according to the French formula. They can, therefore, be used with advantage for the purposes of comparison. The mean age in 1911 was the highest, lowest in 1921, while that in 1931 stood between the two. The difference at different intervals exhibits the variation in age distribution at each of them. The lowest mean age in 1921 displays the altered incidence of age due to a large number of children and a reduced proportion of persons in the effective age periods. The effects of influenza in thinning the ranks of the productive ages are reflected in the age distribution of the population and the consequent lowering of the mean age. But the period that followed the influenza decade was favourable to the growth of numbers. The mean age rises, but it is still not successful in coming up to the level of 1911, owing to the progressive nature of the population with a large number of newly born children in the lower age groups which reduces the proportion of the middle age groups. The different age constitution of European countries and India can be best understood from the figures of mean age of England and Wales and this country shown in the margin. The greater proportion of the economically productive section of the population combined with a low rate of birth is responsible for the higher mean age of the English people. Inversely, under the Indian conditions a comparatively less proportion of the population in the effective age periods and a high birth-rate conspire to increase the proportion of children and reduce the figure of mean age. A further conclusion which the figures of mean age of both the populations yield is that the women are longer-lived than males. For, otherwise their mean age would not be higher than that of the men. A greater proportion of females in the later age periods raises their mean age by increasing the total duration of life lived by the female population. The great difference between the figures of the English mean age in 1921 and 1911 is due to the effects of the European War which inflicted heavy mortality upon the men in their prime of life, and greatly reduced their proportion in the age constitution of England. The absence of males on the war fronts would naturally react upon the birth-rate, and reduce the proportion of children in the general population. These two causes combined account for the mean age of females being higher than that of males as also for its being higher in 1921 than that in 1911, when the birth-rate was normal and society progressive.

Year	Mean Age	
	Males	Females
1911	24·65	24·76
1921	22·08	22·12
1931	23·22	22·76

Year	Mean Age			
	England and Wales		India	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1881	25·7	26·7	24·5	25·2
1891	26·1	27·1	24·4	24·9
1901	26·9	27·9	24·7	25·1
1911	28·0	29·1	24·7	24·7
1921	29·9	31·2	24·8	24·7

1. *Indian Administrative Report*, 1901, p. 390.

The formula, however, runs as follows :—

$$M = \frac{\frac{5P}{2} + 5(P - lx_1) + 5(P - lx_1x_2) + \ldots 5(P - lx_1x_2 \ldots x_n \ldots x_n - 1)}{P}$$

Where M is the mean age to be calculated, P is the total population dealt with and *l* is the number of persons recorded in each age group x_1, x_2, x_n...

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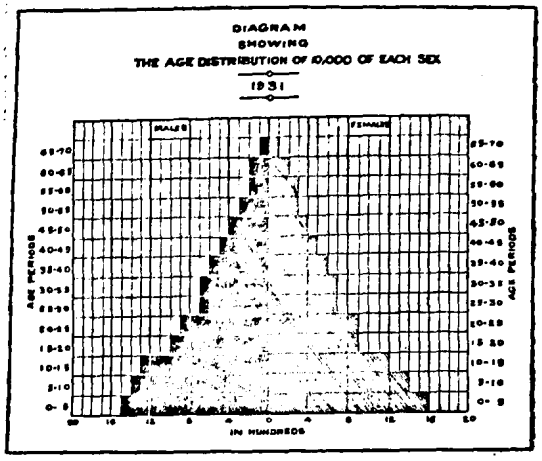
SECTION II—AGE DISTRIBUTION

111. Diagram.—The marginal diagram illustrates the distribution of the population of the State by age and sex. The age constitution of the population assumes, as will be seen, a pyramidal form. But the base of the pyramid is broader than that of any of the western countries owing to the high birth-rate, while its apex is the narrowest on account of the lesser longevity of the Indian people. This will be amply demonstrated by the statistics given in the following statement :—



NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES IN VARIOUS AGE GROUPS IN 1,000 PERSONS AT ALL AGES IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES

AGE GROUP	State 1931		India 1921		England & Wales 1921		Australia 1921		Canada 1921		United States 1920		Denmark 1921		Spain 1920	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Under 10 ...	151	146	138	137	91	89	111	108	121	119	110	107	105	103	108	107
10-20 ...	116	103	107	92	94	95	93	90	99	97	95	95	100	99	111	115
20-40	147	142	159	154	142	168	160	163	157	148	164	161	143	157	137	150
40-60 ...	79	73	84	76	109	119	104	95	99	84	102	91	92	99	92	100
60 and over ...	21	22	26	27	41	52	40	36	39	37	39	36	47	55	37	43

The table further presents a commentary upon the peculiar age constitution of this country which shows a smaller proportion of the population in the middle and later age periods. This is due to the death-rate being higher than that of any other country whose statistics are compared. It must, however, be noted that the figures of some of these countries and especially of England and Wales suffer in the lower and middle age groups owing to the last European War which claimed a greater part of its adult population whose absence from home considerably lowered the birth-rate during the latter half of the decade 1911-21.

112. Variation in Age Distribution.—The distribution of population into different age groups is not fixed, but is subject to considerable fluctuations from Census to Census.

For, "in considering the age constitution of the population either to-day or of any other period, it must be borne in mind that in itself it is nothing more than a resultant distribution from the effect of factors operating over practically the whole of the preceding century. The population ranges from 0 to ages beyond 100, so that the numbers in the several groups in

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1921 are survivors of the births which have occurred since before the year 1821 and it is apparent, therefore, that to the variations in the numbers born in successive years and in their subsequent rates of survival is mainly due to the moulding of the present age distribution." [1]

Besides, there are the disturbing influences of the currents of migration—both of immigration and emigration—which affect chiefly the youthful and young adult age periods. This point will be illustrated hereafter by comparing the age groups of the City with those of the total population of the State. But there are other contributory causes like famine, war, plague and influenza epidemics which abnormally disturb the composition of age groups by increasing the death-rate and lowering the birth-rate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Variation in Population at Certain Age-Periods

STATE	Period	Variation per cent. in population Increase + : Decrease —					
		All Ages	0-10	10-15	15-40	40-60	60 and over
BHAVNAGAR	1911-1921	— 3·39	+ 19·07	+ 15·34	— 11·00	— 17·34	— 52·91
	1921-1931	+ 17·32	+ 4·64	+ 3·77	+ 13·79	+ 22·89	+ 144·28

113. Variation during the Decade.—Before entering into a detailed analysis of the figures and causes which affect them, it will be useful to consider at the outset the variation in the population of the State at certain age periods during the past decennium. The above Subsidiary Table shows that the total population of the State at all ages registers an increase of 17·3 per cent. which is spread over all the groups to a greater or less extent. The percentage of increase is greater in the middle and later age periods, but considerably low in the children's age group. The age group 0-10 shows an increase of 4·6 per cent., and the next group 10-15 that of 3·7 per cent. only. But the division of the ages 0-10 into groups 0-5 and 5-10 discloses an increase of 11 per cent. in the former and a decrease of nearly 2·5 per cent. in the latter. The age group 0-5 owes its increment to the healthy and favourable conditions of the period 1926-31, when the birth-rate was high; but the decrease in the number of children between the ages of 5 and 10 is due to the lower birth-rate during the period 1921-23 when it was struggling to recover from the effects of influenza epidemic of 1918. The movement of birth and death-rate in the curves on page 16 clearly bears out this tendency. The increase in the numbers of the subsequent age groups is, however, due to the passing into them of the 1921 population of the first two groups which were immune from the selective mortality from influenza. The age group 15-40 registers an increase of '13·7 per cent., but the groups at the other extreme of life, *viz.*, 40-60, and 60 and over register increases as great as 22·9 and 144 per cent. as against decreases of 17 and 52 per cent. respectively during 1911-21. These increases have been made possible by the relatively higher survival rate of the past decennium, and mortality from plague and influenza during the decade immediately preceding it. The rearrangement of groups as shown in the margin affords a clearer idea of the variation in the adolescent and adult age groups. Those who were in the age group 0-10 in 1921 passed on to the age group 10-20 in 1931. And as influenza had little effect on

AGE-GROUP	Variation Per cent.	
	1911 to 1921	1921 to 1931
0-10	+ 19	+ 5
10-20	+ 4	+ 37
20-30	— 11	+ 8
30-40	— 12	+ 9
Total population	*— 3·4*	*+ 17·3*

1. *Census of England and Wales, 1921, Report*, p. 64.

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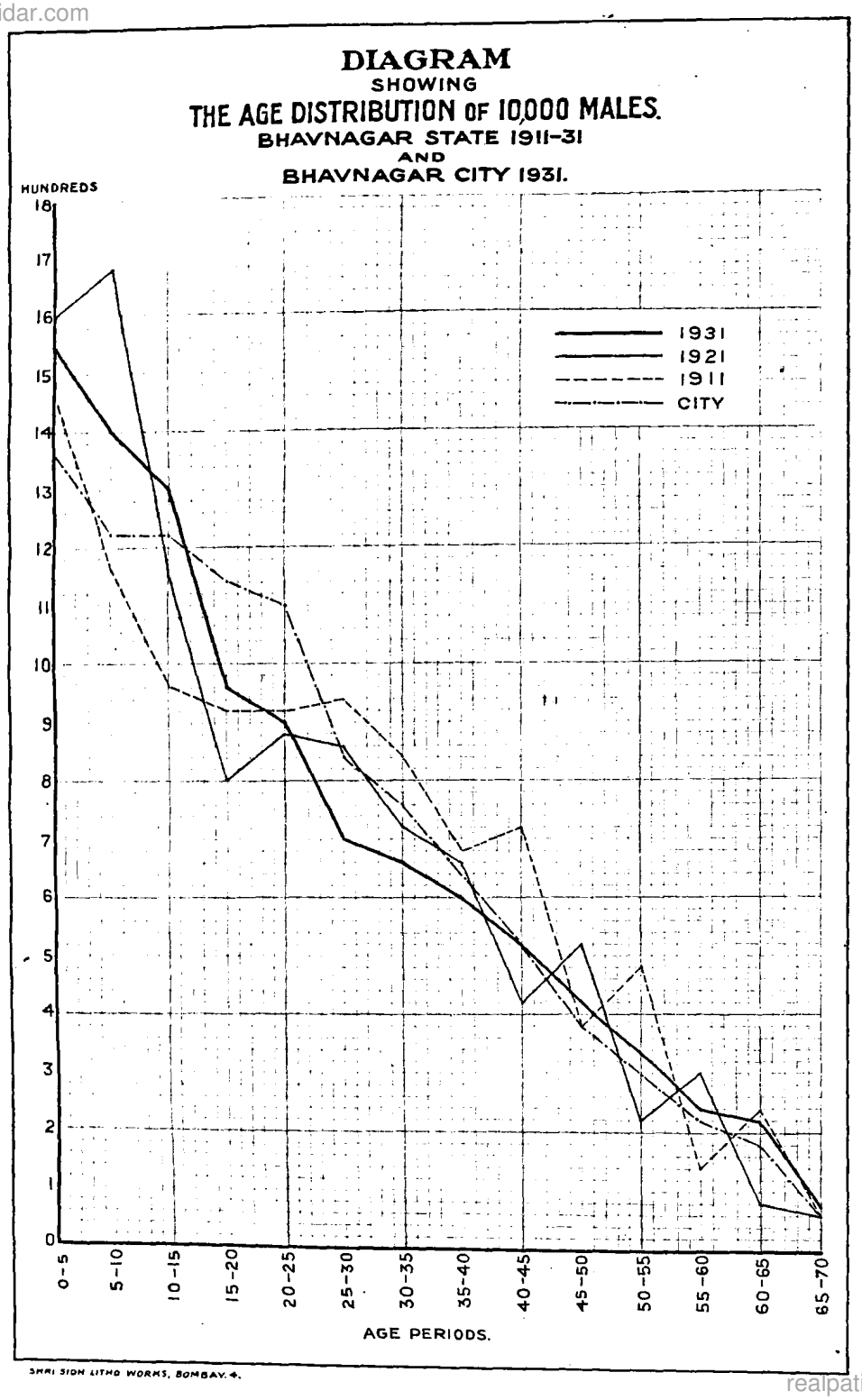

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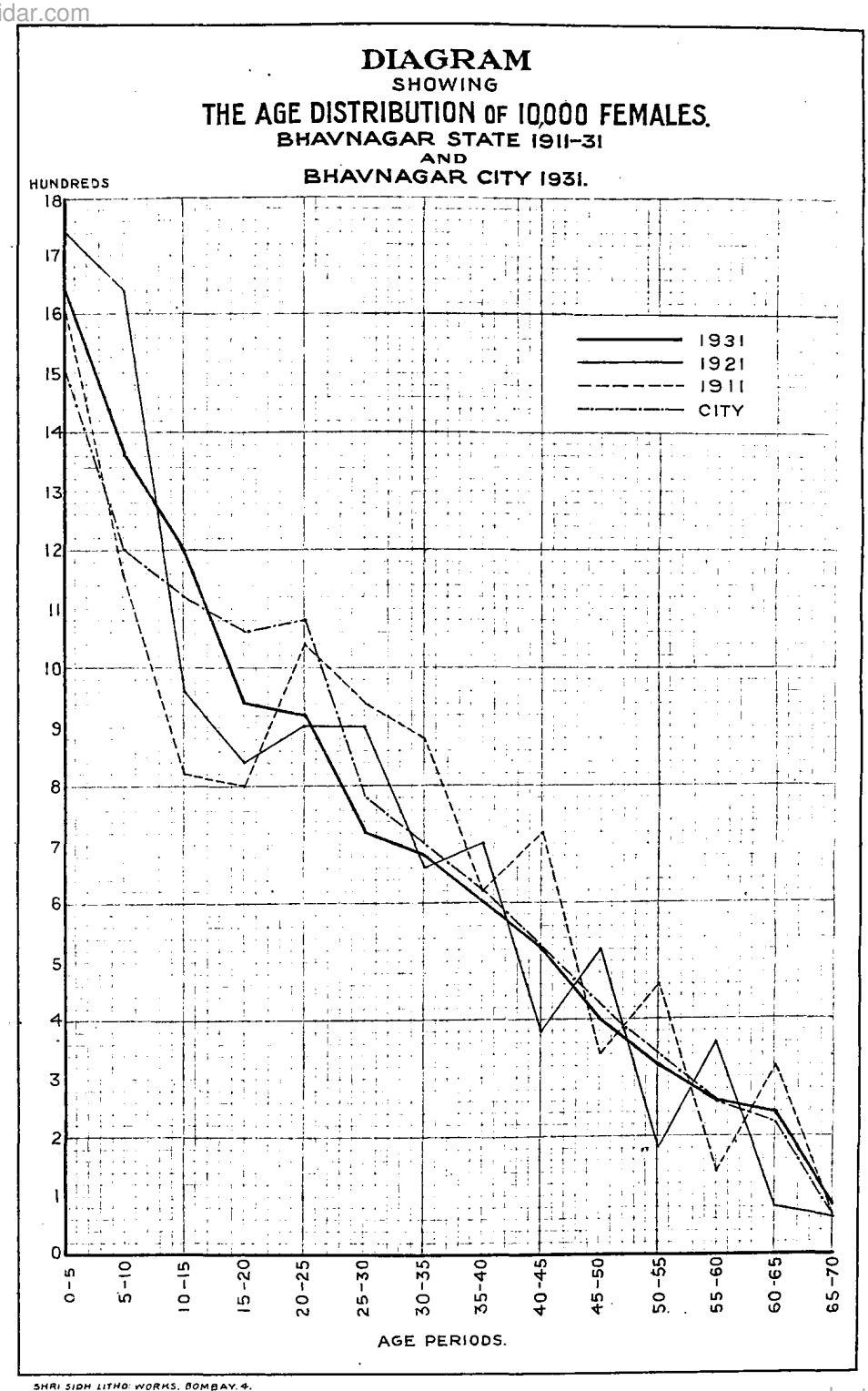

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the population at the two extremes of life, the age period 10-20 in 1931, registered an increase of 37 per cent. But the increase in age groups 20-30 and 30-40 is reduced to 8 and 9 per cent. respectively, owing to the inclusion among them of those of the age groups 15-30 of 1921 who were not claimed by the recent epidemic.

114. Variation from the Numbers of 1911.—The 1911 Census was taken at the close of a period which was on the whole normal. It will, therefore, be useful to consider how the last two decades fare in their age distribution in certain age groups, when compared to the corresponding numbers of 1911. The relevant statistics of percentage variation for the Censuses of 1921 and 1931 are given in the marginal table, the figures of 1911 in the age groups concerned being equal to 100. The present Census registers an increase in all the age groups. But what is more striking is a high percentage increase in the first two groups as compared to the remaining two. Against an increase of 4·6 and 3·7 per cent. in the age groups 0–10 and 10–15 upon the figures of 1921, the increase upon the figures of 1911 is as high as 26 per cent. for males and 23 per cent. for females in the age group 0–10, and that of 52 for males and 68 for females in the age group 10–15. It is to be observed that when the comparison is instituted with the numbers of 1921, the increase in these two age periods does not appear to be very great; but when it is carried out with reference to the numbers of 1911 the increase becomes glaring and very prominent. The reasons are to be traced to the history of the decade 1911–21, which was subjected to heavy influenza mortality in the age group 15–40, the child population being singularly free from its devastations. Upto 1917, the period was very healthy, and the birth-rate was abnormally high. This is seen from the fact that between 1911–21, the increase in the number of children under 10 years was 21 and 17 per cent. for males and females respectively in spite of the lower birth-rate at the end of the decade. Only the population in the age group 0–5 born during 1918–20 suffered from the low birth-rate. But the children who had already been born upto 1916 and who were shown in the age group 5–10 in 1921 registered as high an increase as 39 per cent. for males and 36 for females as againt 7 for males and 4 for females in the age group 0–5, born after 1916. Thus it is seen that on the whole the child population was favourably situated at the Census of 1921, so much so that an increase of 19 and 15 per cent. in the age groups 0–10 and 10–15 respectively was the result notwithstanding the fact that the general population had decreased by 3·4 per cent. The influence of the epidemic is, however, seen in the middle and later age-periods of 1921 which suffered heavy losses, and were responsible for the general decrease. It is traceable even in the present population of these groups which containing as they do the survivors from influenza, record comparatively smaller percentage increases upon the numbers of 1911.

PERCENTAGE BORNE BY THE NUMBERS IN CERTAIN AGE GROUPS IN 1921 TO THE CORRESPONDING NUMBERS OF 1911.
1911=100

Age Group	Males		Females	
	1921	1931	1921	1931
0–10	121	126	117	123
10–15	116	152	115	168
15–40	88	100	90	102
40 and over	77	104	74	104

115. Diagrams.—The curves in the diagrams opposite show graphically the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex for the Censuses of 1911, 1921, and 1931. They compare the changes in the proportionate distribution of the population in 5-year groups from Census to Census, and bear the traces of the past events handed on from the lower to the higher age group. Their upward and downward movement results from plumping on round numbers and the scars suffered by the population during the intercensal period. While great depressions in the 1921 curves at various places show the effects of selective influenza mortality, the comparatively smooth character of the 1931 curves represents the progressive and normal conditions of the decennium 1921–31. The variation in the distribution of the general and City population can be also clearly distinguished.

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116. Previous Influences.—The percentage variation in the distribution of the population in certain age groups has been noticed. The variation in the numbers of the present Census has also been examined with reference to the numbers in certain age groups at the Census of 1921, as also at the normal Census of 1911. While doing so a passing reference has already been made to the effects of influenza on certain age groups. We shall now attempt to trace the effects of the famine of 1900, of the mild plague during the decade 1901–11, of the plague of 1916, and of the influenza epidemic of 1918 upon certain age groups at a particular Census, as also upon the different age groups from Census to Census.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX

AGE	1931		1921		1911	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0–1	295	316	374	410	336	358
1–2	316	346	255	288	198	225
2–3	309	347	286	336	338	377
3–4	310	329	271	298	323	371
4–5	306	306	418	413	266	285
0–5	*1,536*	*1,644*	*1,604*	*1,745*	*1,461*	*1,616*
5–10	1,406	1,353	1,674	1,637	1,165	1,164
10–15	1,299	1,198	1,158	964	968	810
15–20	962	933	793	849	927	793
20–25	899	917	883	899	927	1,038
25–30	703	723	858	901	948	941
30–35	664	675	711	665	838	877
35–40	594	602	658	696	670	627
40–45	512	512	425	376	719	726
45–50	427	399	522	510	382	332
50–55	339	320	217	177	475	468
55–60	249	268	298	364	143	130
60–65	210	238	87	82	237	323
65–70	85	84	60	66	60	57
70 and over	115	134	52	69	80	98
Mean Age ...	**23·22**	**22·76**	**22·08**	**22·12**	**24·65**	**24·78**

(*i*) *Influence of Famine.*—The foregoing Subsidiary Table shows the age incidence of 10,000 of each sex in quinary groups. The statistics for the last three Censuses only are available, and so it is not possible to follow the effects of the Big Famine since 1901, when they first made themselves manifest. Unlike influenza, the persons at the two extremes of life are more exposed to famine and plague than at any other age period. Were the figures of age distribution for 1901 before us, we would have detected therein the effects of famine in thinning the ranks of the children and the old by the reduction of the proportions in the age groups 0–15 and 40 and over. The scars of the Chhapania are, however, traceable to the age groups 5–15 in 1911, 15–25 in 1921, and 25–35 in 1931 as also to some of the higher age groups of 1911 and 1921 to which the famine-stricken population of 1901 progressed. But the figures of the past two Censuses are overshadowed by the greater disturbances caused in them by the influenza epidemic which concentrated its attack on productive age categories. It may also be averred that the plague continued in milder form for some time during 1901–11, and so the depression in groups 45-50, 55-60 and 65 and over in 1911, may partially be attributed to deaths from this disease.

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(*ii*) *Effects of Influenza.*—During the decennium 1911-21, influenza played a very prominent part in altering the age constitution of the population. Its effects are disclosed in a striking manner by the marginal table showing the 1921 figures of all the quinary groups as a percentage of the figures of 1911. Children aged 0-15 show varying degrees of increase, the highest being in the age group 5-10, into which passed those born during the first quinquennium. The smaller percentage increase of those in the age period 0-5 testifies to the effects of the low birth-rate during the period 1918–20. Of the remaining periods, all the groups but 45–50 and 55–60 reveal considerable depletion in their ranks caused by influenza whose selection of persons of effective ages and especially of females has been noticed before. Greater reduction in the number of females of child-bearing ages in the groups 20-25, 30–35, and 40–45 is clearly visible also from the curves at page 80 which show greater depression in the female curve than in the male. But the later age periods commencing from 50 should not be deemed to have suffered to that degree from influenza as plague which had made its appearance in 1916. The combined conspiracy of plague and influenza in increasing the death-rate is responsible for the heavy losses registered in the proportion of persons at the other extreme of life. Coming nearer home to the present Census, the statement on the margin which shows the percentage borne by the numbers of 1931 to the corresponding numbers of 1921 reveals marked improvement in the composition of various age-groups under the stimulus offered by the past decennium. The legacy of influenza is, however, handed down to the age groups 5-10, 25-30, 45-50, which seem to have suffered the most from the epidemic. The effects of a low rate of birth in the beginning of the past decade are at once discernible in the reduced percentage borne by the children between the ages of 5 and 10. All the remaining groups register varying degrees of increases, the highest percentage variation in the later age groups being due to the relatively lower death-rate and higher survival rate of the past decennium. But a reference should be made to Subsidiary Table III giving age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in order to have a comprehensive idea of the reduction in the proportion of different age groups. It reveals that to the groups noted above, age groups 30-40 should be added as still showing the effects of influenza.

PERCENTAGE BORNE BY THE NUMBERS IN ALL THE AGE GROUPS IN 1921 TO THE CORRESPONDING NUMBERS OF 1911
1911=100

Age Group	Males	Females
Total	**97**	**96**
0–5	107	104
5–10	139	136
10–15	116	115
15–20	83	103
20–25	92	84
25–30	88	92
30–35	82	73
35–40	95	107
40–45	57	50
45–50	132	148
50–55	44	37
55–60	201	269
60–65	35	24
65–70	97	113
70 and over	63	67

PERCENTAGE BORNE BY THE NUMBERS IN ALL THE AGE GROUPS IN 1931 TO THE CORRESPONDING NUMBERS OF 1921
1921=100

Age Group	Males	Females
Total	**117**	**118**
0–5	112	111
5–10	98	97
10–15	131	146
15–20	142	130
20–25	119	120
25–30	96	95
30–35	109	120
35–40	105	102
40–45	141	161
45–50	95	92
50–55	183	213
55–60	97	87
60–65	282	343
65–70	164	150
70 and over	259	230

The curves plotted in the diagram at the next page illustrate the variation in numbers at the Censuses of 1921 and 1931 over the figures of each preceding Census. The peculiar and varied nature of the past two decades that have been already considered is very vividly illustrated by this graphic presentation of statistics. The curve on the left hand side portrays the progressive and healthy character of the past decennium which was favourable to the rapid growth of numbers in almost all the age groups. The extraordinary tendency towards revival is distinctly noticeable. The greater longevity of women is also very prominently brought out by the higher female peaks that appear during the later age groups. On the other hand, the effects of influenza on the more exposed age periods 15-45, and the greater vitality of males are clearly charted by the curves on the right.

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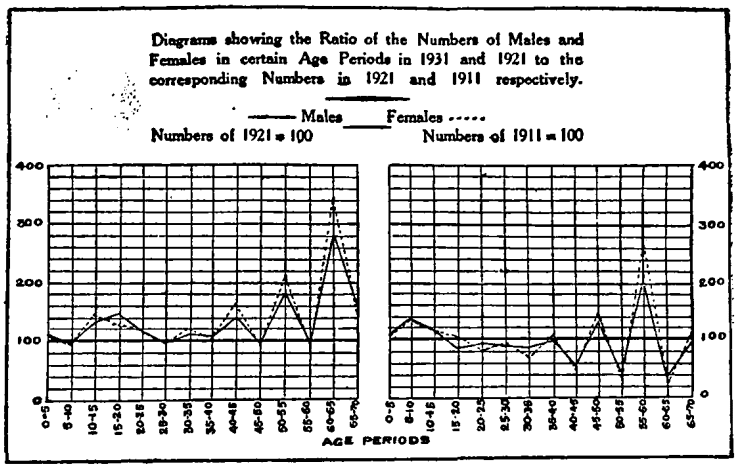

117. Bhavnagar City.—An examination of the age distribution of 10,000 of each sex of the City population gives some very interesting results. The 5-year age grouping is shown by the marginal table. But the statistics as reproduced below will prove instructive. It is seen that the age distribution of the highly urban population of the City differs greatly from that of the general population. While 42 per cent. of the total population fall under the age group 0-15, the percentage of the City comes to 38. The proportion of children is less in the case of the City than in that of the State as a whole. The children under 10 are 26 per cent. as against 29 for the State. This is due to the relatively less fecundity of the urban population as also to the smaller proportion of females to males of the productive age period. The proportion of both the males and females in the State between the ages 15 to 45 is 43, while that in the City is 49·9 for males and 47·5 for females. The proportion of middle-aged persons is greater in the City than in the State as a whole. The movement of the able-bodied working men to the City for employment results in a great influx of the population in the age class 15-45. The smaller proportion of females in the middle group explains the tendency of males to leave their females at home and to come alone to the City for earning bread. The scarcity of females of the effective age periods also reacts upon the proportion of the child population. But while the proportion of females in the State and City is the same in the later age periods, it is higher in the case of City females as well as in the case of State males and females than in that of City males. It explains the greater longevity of females and the less congenial

AGE	Age distribution of 10,000	
	Males	Females
0-5	1,352	1,497
5-10	1,229	1,205
10-15	1,219	1,124
15-20	1,136	1,065
20-25	1,106	1,073
25-30	835	775
30-35	761	696
35-40	631	622
40-45	520	522
45-50	387	427
50-55	303	341
55-60	216	260
60-65	174	228
65-70	56	59
70 and over	75	106

AGE GROUP	Age Distribution of 10,000			
	State		City	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-15	4,241	4,195	3,800	3,826
15-45	4,334	4,362	4,989	4,753
Over 45	1,425	1,443	1,211	1,421

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nature of the urban environments. This characteristic age distribution of the City population can be best understood by referring to the curves opposite para 115, where the curve for the City falls below the curve of the general population for the earlier ages and runs parallel to it for the later ages, after shooting upwards for the youthful and young adult age periods.

SECTION III—SUNDBÄRG'S AGE CATEGORIES

118. Sundbärg's Theory of Age Distribution.—Sundbärg, the Swedish statistician, after examining the distribution of the population in European countries, came to the conclusion that half the total population is contained in the age group 15 to 50 and continues to do so without any alterations. Any fluctuations that occur are to be found in the two remaining groups, *viz.*, (*i*) 0-15 and (*ii*) 50 and over, as they are more subject to mortality than the intermediate group 15 to 50. He classified the population into *progressive*, *stationary* and *regressive* according as the proportion of persons in the age group 0-15 was higher or less than the population in the age group 50 and over. The classification which indicates the progressive, stationary, or regressive character of the population is given under the following typical grouping:—

AGE GROUP	PER CENT. OF POPULATION		
	Progressive Type	Stationary Type	Regressive Type
0-15	40	33	20
15-50	50	50	50
50 and over	10	17	30

In all the three types, the percentage of the population under the middle age group is the same, *i.e.*, 50. The variation takes place only at the two extremes, *i.e.*, in the lower and higher age groups. From these, Sundbärg further propounded that as the total mortality was not affected by variations in their relative size, the general rate of mortality was independent of the age distribution. But as Sir Edward Gait rightly remarks:—

> This theory " is inapplicable to India, partly because as just stated, the proportion of persons in the intermediate age group, where the mortality is lowest, is somewhat less constant than in Europe, but chiefly because, owing to the shorter lives of the people in India, the rate of mortality amongst those aged 50 and over is considerably greater than that amongst those under 15. Moreover, the mortality among persons under the age of 15 varies from time to time according to the proportion of very young children which that age group contains. The mortality amongst very young children in India is extraordinary high ; while between the ages of 5 and 15, it is very low. The proportion of very young children to the total number aged 0-15 varies greatly from time to time." [1]

There are, however, obvious advantages of comparing the persons in the effective age periods with those at the two extremes of life. Barring local deviations resulting from the differences of race, religion, and mode of living Sundbärgian age groups have been generally found to conform to Indian conditions. These proportions are also apt to be disturbed by periodical calamities in the shape of famines, influenza and plague. The following statement which classifies the population of the State according to Sundbärgian age categories bears the stamp of local conditions which, as will be seen later on, are reflected to a still greater extent in their consideration by religion. According to Sundbärg's standard, these figures betray a continuous progressive nature of the population of the State. What is still more striking is that the population in the intermediate group is in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent. of the total popu-

YEAR	Proportion per cent. of the population in the age groups		
	0-15	15-50	50 and over
1911	36	54	10
1921	44	49	7
1931	42	48	10

1. *India Census Report*, 1911, p. 149.

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lation. The persistence of this phenomenon at all three Censuses justifies the theory of age distribution propounded by Sundbärg. But the age distribution of the State differs from that of the western countries in that the proportion of persons aged 50 and over is greater in the case of the latter than in that of the former. This is due to the greater longevity and higher expectation of life of the Europeans. The effects of influenza in affecting the able-bodied in their prime of life, and of the plague of 1916 in removing the older people are visible in the higher percentage of persons aged 0-15, and in falling off of the percentages for the next two groups from 54 and 10 in 1911 to 49 and 7 in 1921 respectively. But the present progressive age distribution seems to be on the whole favourable to the future growth of numbers, if the following decade is fortunate enough to escape from the periodical visitations which appear and exact their toll at regular intervals.

Whipple at page 179 of his *Vital Statistics* adds two more types of age distribution to Sundbärg's age-categories, according as there is a depletion by emigration or gain by immigration in the percentage of the middle-aged persons. He suggests that the type will be termed *secessive*, if the percentage of persons between the age of 15 and 50 is much less than 50, but *accessive*, if it be greater than 50. Compared to the figures of the whole State, the marginal figures for the City of Bhavnagar should be taken to indicate an accessive type of population, the accession resulting from the able-bodied working classes of the middle age periods, coming to the City from rural areas, and from the immigration of outsiders.

Age Group	Proportion per cent. of the population	
	City	State
0–15	38	42
15–50	53	48
50 and over	9	10

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

Age Distribution of 10,000 of each Sex in Main Religions

AGE	1931		1921		1911	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Hindu						
0–5	1,545	1,663	1,606	1,764	1,476	1,629
5–10	1,412	1,354	1,692	1,649	1,151	1,147
10–15	1,302	1,194	1,143	948	950	793
15–20	955	929	783	834	930	798
20–40	2,854	2,912	3,128	3,169	3,413	3,511
40–60	1,522	1,494	1,454	1,424	1,713	1,654
60 and over	410	454	194	212	367	468
Mean Age ...	*23·18*	*23·30*	*22·02*	*22·06*	*24·61*	*24·76*
Muslim						
0–5	1,500	1,554	1,607	1,648	1,432	1,597
5–10	1,397	1,347	1,604	1,613	1,293	1,259
10–15	1,309	1,215	1,232	1,017	1,075	852
15–20	988	960	844	941	830	735
20–40	2,907	2,933	2,961	3,085	3,164	3,337
40–60	1,485	1,504	1,509	1,440	1,749	1,675
60 and over	414	487	243	256	457	545
Mean Age ...	*23·18*	*23·68*	*22·36*	*22·50*	*24·75*	*24·87*
Jain						
0–5	1,431	1,482	1,576	1,589	1,265	1,419
5–10	1,329	1,338	1,482	1,480	1,173	1,300
10–15	1,251	1,235	1,301	1,172	1,095	1,031
15–20	1,037	942	881	943	1,053	785
20–40	2,854	2,978	3,025	3,149	3,260	3,274
40–60	1,696	1,592	1,529	1,455	1,749	1,674
60 and over ...	402	433	206	212	405	517
Mean Age ...	*23·93*	*23·87*	*22·35*	*22·47*	*25·04*	*24·91*

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119. Age Composition by Religions.—The age distribution of the Hindus, Muslims and Jains is exhibited by the above Table. It partakes of the general nature of the age distribution noticed before with regard to the State population. But as between different religions, there do appear some variations which are inevitable in view of the difference they indicate in the mode of living and economic condition of their adherents. Their mean ages, and the ratios given by the following Subsidiary Table illustrate these variations.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 50 TO THOSE AGED 15-40 IN CERTAIN RELIGIONS; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15-40 PER 100 FEMALES

RELIGIONS	Proportion of children under 10 both sexes for 100						Proportion of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15–40						Number of married females aged 15–40 per 100 females of all ages		
	Persons aged 15–40			Married females aged 15–40			1931		1921		1911				
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	1931	1921	1911
Hindu ...	78	85	62	182	210	146	11	12	5	5	8	11	34	33	38
Muslim ...	74	83	69	182	199	159	11	13	6	6	11	13	33	34	36
Jain ...	71	77	61	185	208	160	10	11	5	5	9	13	31	30	33

Classifying the age statistics for all the main religions according to Sundbärg, the following percentages are compared:—

Age-Group	Total Population	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian
0–15	42	42	42	40	27	31
15–50	48	48	48	49	57	60
50 and over	10	10	10	11	16	9

From an examination of the foregoing statement, some very important observations should be made. The age constitution of the Hindus and the Muslims is the same and accords with the Sundbärgian classification of the whole population. But the age distribution of the Jains is somewhat different. The Jains have a smaller proportion of persons in the first and greater in the next two groups. This is quite likely in view of the late marriages in vogue among them. Their longevity is also greater than that of the other two whose mean ages are less than that of the Jains. But the case of the Parsis and the Christians stands on quite a different footing. The present age composition of the Parsis of the Bhavnagar State is exactly the same as that of the Bombay Presidency in 1921. It exhibits vividly the effects of the postponement of marriage, and its consequent reaction upon the distribution of the population into the various age groups. They have got a very high survival value and their longevity may be deemed enviable. But the peculiar age grouping of this community led Mr. Marten, the Census Commissioner for India in 1921, to remark:—

"Their general age distribution is at the present time more unfavourable than that of any European country except France. The Census figures offer a warning to this community, whose conduct of married life is probably more akin to that of Western countries than that of any other community in India."[1]

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 133.

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The figures of the Christian population of the State are not worthy of being used for the purposes of drawing any useful conclusions, as they are affected by the foreign section of that community, a greater proportion of which consists of immigrants in the middle age periods.

Section IV—Some Caste and General Ratios

120. Age Constitution by Caste.—The age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain main and representative castes will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of the Chapter. The examination of the incidence of age according to castes is, however, of doubtful utility and of little practical value in view of their multiplicity and other disturbing factors to which they owe their origin and subsequent development. But the statistics can be best utilised by showing them for castes grouped under different social classes corresponding to higher and lower strata of society. The grouping which is shown below is arrived at according to the Risley Scheme of 1901. The Brahmans or the priestly class, the militant class, and the Vanias or the trading class which form the higher rungs of the social ladder have been placed first. Then follow the agriculturists, artisans, labourers, herdsmen and the untouchables. The reproduction from the Subsidiary Table of the figures by social groups into the following form renders their comparison easy.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

Age Distribution of 1,000 of Each Sex in Certain Social Groups

Social Group	Males: Number per mille aged				Females: Number per mille aged			
	0–6	7–13	14–43	44 and over	0–6	7–13	14–43	44 and over
HINDU AND JAIN								
Brahmans (selected) ...	177	180	452	191	183	174	452	191
Warrior Class ...	164	167	497	172	188	162	466	184
Bards	159	182	491	168	186	161	472	181
Traders (Hindu and Jain) ...	181	183	452	184	179	179	461	181
Agriculturists	201	188	450	161	215	184	458	143
Craftsmen and Artisans ...	209	191	440	160	213	174	446	167
Labouring Class	267	201	427	105	235	177	446	142
Herdsmen	191	187	451	151	207	178	462	153
Personal servants	204	181	467	148	217	172	464	147
Untouchables	222	217	410	151	233	186	429	152
Religious mendicants	178	171	468	183	209	168	456	167
MUSALMAN								
With foreign Strain	176	177	491	156	192	166	457	185
Local Converts	205	201	442	152	202	193	433	172
PARSI	107	136	461	296	114	93	579	214
INDIAN CHRISTIAN ...	132	111	576	181	168	178	533	121

The main periods into which the ages have been resolved are 0–6, 7–13, 14–43 and 44 and over. This will give an idea of the distribution of the different classes into early, middle and later age groups. The proportion of children appears to vary inversely as the rank of each group in the social hierarchy. The higher classes which comprise all the principal sub-castes of Brahmans, Vanias, and Rajputs have a smaller proportion of children than the lower social classes which

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consist of the agriculturists, *i.e.*, the Kanbis, the occupational castes of the craftsmen and artisans, the labouring classes like the Kolis and Vaghris, the personal servants like the Hajams and Khavas, and of the untouchables like the Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars. While the higher castes have 181 males per mille as the highest figure for the Vanias in the age group 0–6, the lower castes have 267 as the highest for the Kolis and Vaghris and are followed by the untouchables with 222. The proportion of children, therefore, in the higher castes is smaller than that in the lower and backward. But the distribution in the middle age periods is somewhat different. The proportion per mille of the warrior class in the ages 14 to 43 is the greatest with 497 males. But the agriculturists and herdsmen stand abreast with the Brahmans and the Vanias who have each 452 per mille in the ages between 14 and 43. The personal servants and religious mendicants have still higher proportions of middle-aged males which are 467 and 468 respectively. But the untouchables and labouring classes come last as their proportion of the able-bodied persons is the smallest of all the social classes. The hard and care-worn life they have to lead is responsible for this defect. The Musalmans with foreign strain have a smaller proportion of children, on account of their being immigrants, whereas the local converts like the Vohoras, and the Khojas who are the natives of the land have a greater proportion of children under 6. For, while the Musalmans with foreign strain have 491 males per mille in the age group 14–43, the local converts have only 442. This accounts for the former containing a considerable element of the foreign population that settles in the State without families. And this is evident from the proportion of their females in the age group 14–43 being less than their numbers in the same group by 34 per mille. Its reaction upon the proportion of children is obvious. But the smaller proportion of middle-aged males and females in the case of the local converts like the Vohoras and the Khojas is due to their well-known habit of migrating outside for employing their energies in trading and commercial enterprises.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 14 AND OF PERSONS OVER 43 TO THOSE AGED 14–43 IN CERTAIN CASTE GROUPS; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 14–43 PER 100 FEMALES

SOCIAL GROUP	Proportion of children under 14 both sexes per 100		Proportion of persons over 43 per 100 aged 14–43		Number of married females aged 14–43 per 100 females of all ages
	Persons aged 14–43	Married females aged 14–43	Males	Females	
HINDU					
Brahmans	79	203	42	42	35
Warrior Class	70	190	35	39	38
Bards	71	186	34	38	38
Traders (Hindu and Jain) ...	79	214	41	39	34
Agriculturists	87	197	36	31	41
Craftsmen and Artisans ...	89	203	36	37	39
Labouring Class	101	227	25	32	39
Herdsmen	83	195	38	33	41
Personal servants	83	186	32	32	40
Untouchables	102	238	37	35	36
Religious mendicants	78	198	39	36	40
MUSALMAN					
With foreign strain	75	198	32	40	38
Local Converts	92	236	34	40	34
PARSI	44	171	64	37	29
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	51	189	31	23	36

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121. Some Ratios Considered.—The ratios (*i*) of children to persons aged 14–43 and females of the child-bearing ages, (*ii*) of older persons to those in the middle age periods, and (*iii*) of the females of reproductive ages to those of all ages are shown by the above Table. Those in columns 2 and 3 relate to the fecundity of castes and will be considered later on. The bearing of the remaining ratios alone will be considered here.

Columns 4 and 5 state the proportions of persons over 43 to those aged 14–43. The people in their prime of life are compared to those in the later age periods. The ratios of the different social groups reveal this fundamental fact that the mode of living of their members has much to do with their longevity and age distribution. It distinctly appears from the higher ratios[1] of the Brahmans (42), Vanias (41) and Parsis (64) that those who are higher in the social scale are economically better off, and are subjected to a less degree to the privations of life. Hence their longevity is relatively greater than that of the lower classes. Inversely, the labouring classes (25) and personal servants (32) who lead an inferior economic existence and have to undergo all sorts of strains have a smaller proportion of persons aged over 45 and enjoy lesser longevity. The artisans (36) and agriculturists (36) fare better than the labourers whose economic calibre appears to be inferior to that of the former. The numbers of males aged 44 and over are respectively found to be 204 and 164 per mille of the Kathis and Rajputs. The latter have a smaller proportion of persons in the later age groups on account of their having a greater proportion of persons in the middle age groups. But the smaller proportion in the later age periods also betokens a low survival value of the Rajputs owing to the hard and careworn life some of them have to lead on account of their unsatisfactory pecuniary condition. The ratios considered above on the whole conform to the view expressed at the outset that the mode of living, economic environment, and the social strata of the group affect its age constitution, as also its longevity and survival value. The Parsis whose mode of life is more akin to that of the western people, and whose males show the greatest survival value have 64 aged over 43 to every 100 aged 14–43. On the other hand the labouring classes who earn their bread with difficulty and possess the lowest survival value have only 25 males of that age in every 100 of their male population. The different intermediate values are appropriated by the remaining social groups in accordance with the nature of the surroundings under which they live and earn their pittance. The influence of environments upon the rate of survival is also disclosed by these ratios being lower for the females of the agriculturists, herdsmen, labouring classes and personal servants than for those of other social groups whose women do not work outdoors but occupy themselves under the more agreeable atmosphere of the household.

The ratios in the last column of the Subsidiary Table appertain to the number of married females between the ages of 14 to 43 to 100 females of all ages. These ratios apart from their showing the proportion of females of child-bearing ages to those of all ages, are also interesting inasmuch as they afford some clue to the varying extent to which child marriages are abandoned and age of marriage postponed by the different social groups; because the different strata of society stand for the difference in the degree of their being influenced by the reformative and educative tendencies of the time. They are found to vary directly as the addiction of the caste to child marriages. The proportion which includes married women from the age of 14 is the lowest (29), as would be naturally expected, in the case of Parsis. Among the Hindus, Brahmans and Vanias or traders who form the upper strata of society have respectively 35 and 34 married females aged 14 to 43 to 100 females of all ages. But the agriculturists, herdsmen, personal servants and religious mendicants who include such castes as the Kanbi, Kachhia, Mali, Bharward, Ahir, Rabari, Hajam, Khavas and Bava as also the artisan castes like the Gola, Kumbhar, Luhar and Mochi all of whom form the lowest rungs of the social ladder and are little affected by social reforms, show a greater tendency towards early marriages. Their ratios range from 39 to 41. The warrior class and the bards also do not appear to

1. These ratios refer to male proportions.

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have been influenced by social reforms to any appreciable extent. But the untouchables who include the Bhangis, Chamars, and Dheds show some tendency towards late marriages in spite of their backwardness. It will be seen that the inferences drawn above regarding the various social groups are also in conformity with our general knowledge and experience.

122. **Proportion of Children to Adults.**—The proportion of children under 10 to persons and married females in the age groups 15-40 is usually examined to ascertain the progressive or retrogressive character of the population, as also to gauge the comparative fertility or otherwise of each intercensal period. These and other ratios can be obtained from the following Subsidiary Table.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 50 TO THOSE AGED 15-40; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15-40 PER 100 FEMALES

STATE	Proportion of children under 10 both sexes per 100						Proportion of persons over 50 per 100 aged 15-40						Number of married females aged 15-40 per 100 females of all ages		
	Persons aged 15-40			Married Females aged 15-40			1931		1921		1911				
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	1931	1921	1911
Bhavnagar	77	84	63	182	209	148	26	27	18	19	23	25	34	33	38

123. **Variation in Birth-rate and Fecundity.**—The extent of variation in the birth-rate can be estimated from the figures of age distribution of the population. The marginal statement compares the proportionate number of children under 10 to 100 of the total population for the past three enumerations. From one Census to another there is an increase of 6 per cent. in the proportion of children under the age of 10. From 27 in 1911, it went up to 33 in 1921, and fell to 30 in 1931. These variations indicate a corresponding increase or decrease in fertility of the decennium preceding the Census of rise or fall in the percentage. The proportions of children to adults as well as to married females of the ages 15 to 40 are also examined for the purpose. The ratios in both the cases are the highest in 1921. While in the case of adults it is 84, in the case of married females of child-bearing ages which is the proper criterion to estimate the variation in periodic fertility, it is 209. Similar proportions are 63 and 148 for 1911, and 77 and 182 for 1931. All these different sorts of proportionate figures which aim at ascertaining the variation in the birth-rate and fecundity from Census to Census suggest that the fertility during the period 1911-21 had considerably increased and that the birth-rate during the decade had moved on rapidly. It would also point to a reduced fertility of the decennium 1921-31 compared to the one immediately preceding it. But the increase in fertility during 1911-21 was not so great as the ratios on the face of them would seem to suggest. For, though the birth-rate was very high during the greater part of the decade, *i.e.*, during 1911-17, it is a well-known fact that it suffered heavily during 1918-20 owing to the greater exposition

YEAR	Number of children under 10 per 100 of the population
1911	27
1921	33
1931	30

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of persons in the middle age periods, particularly of females of reproductive ages, to deaths from influenza. As will be seen from the marginal statistics this resulted in the reduction in the number of children born during the second quinquennium. The depletion in the ranks of females in the effective age categories was, on the other hand, responsible for raising the proportion of children to married females in the age groups 15 to 40. It is thus that the abnormal rise in the 1921 ratios is to be accounted for, though it cannot be denied that the decade taken as a whole was more fertile than either the one preceding or following it. But the greater fecundity of the intercensal period 1921–31 as compared to that of 1901–11 will be noticed from the increases registered at the close of these two decades. The growth during 1921–31 has been already seen to be greater than that during 1901–11, and appears to be commensurate with the increase in its ratio. For, against the increase from 148 in 1911 to 182 in 1931 in the proportion of children under 10 to 100 females aged 15 to 40 should be offset the absolute increases of these two decennia which are 28,703 or 6 per cent. and 73,870 or 17·3 per cent. respectively. The facts are thus found to be substantially corroborated by figures.

Year of Birth	Age Groups of 1921 Census	Number of children enumerated
1920–21	0–1	16,680
1919–20	1–2	11,558
1918–19	2–3	13,227
1917–18	3–4	12,119
1916–17	4–5	17,726

The traces of the time are also discernible in the other two kinds of ratios which the Subsidiary Table VIII supplies. For, it is also the practice to examine and compare (*i*) the ratio of persons over 50 to persons aged 15-40, and (*ii*) of married females aged 15-40 to females of all ages. The effects of influenza and of plague of 1916 which affected and reduced the proportion of persons at the two extremes of life are visible in the smaller proportion (18 males and 19 females) of persons aged over 50 in 1921. But the healthy character of the past decennium again asserts itself in raising the 1931 ratios to 26 (males) and 27 (females) which are higher even than those of 1911. Once again the comparative prosperity and normal character of the period appear to show their influence upon the later age categories whose survival rate is found to be higher in the past decennium than that in 1901–11. The greater longevity of females is revealed by their ratio being higher for the last three Censuses. The figures in columns 14-16 of the subsidiary table which represent the ratio of married females of child-bearing ages to females of all ages also repeat the same woeful tale of the ranks of the former depleted in 1921 by influenza whose effects are noticeable even in 1931, by the number of married females aged 15-40 still not coming up to the level of 1911. In this connection, it must be remembered that the females aged 15-30 in 1921 continue in the age groups 25-40 in 1931; and so their low proportion would naturally affect the ratio of the present Census. The tendency towards late marriages which has lately found favour with certain educated sections of society should be also taken into account as lowering the ratio of married females between the ages of 15 and 40 to females of all ages.

124. Fecundity in Castes.—The proportion of children in the ages 0 to 6 has been considered with reference to the social groups to which the castes belong. The greater or smaller proportion of children may be taken roughly to indicate the higher or lower fertility of the castes considered. The conclusions that have been broadly arrived at before, will be analysed here in detail with reference to the number of married females of reproductive ages (*i. e.*, between the ages of 14 and 43) and with especial reference to the statistics compiled from the fertility schedules. The proportions of children under 14 per 100 married females aged 14 to 43 given in columns 2 and 3 of Subsidiary Table VII, show that the untouchables and the labouring class Hindus who include the Bhangis, Chamars, Dheds, and the Kolis and Vaghris are the most prolific. Column 4 of the Sex Table IV giving the average number of children per family

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in certain castes and races is reproduced in the margin for ready reference and comparison with the ratios we are now considering. It appears therefrom that while the average number of children per Vaghri family is 8·5, the averages for the Koli and Dhed families are 6·3 and 6·5 respectively. The traders which include all the main sub-castes of the Hindu and Jain Vanias come next from the point of fertility, their ratio of children to married females being 214. The sex statistics bear testimony to their greater fertility by showing the average number of children per Hindu and Jain Vania family to be 7·5 and 7·3 respectively. It has been seen in para 120, that the higher classes are less prolific than the lower. But this departure from the aforesaid hypothesis in the case of the trading classes is explained by their greater survival value resulting from their better mode of living and superior economic condition. The Brahmans and the artisan class comprising the Sutars, Luhars, Sonis, Kansaras and others possess the same ratio, their proportion of children being 203. The averages of children in their families are also very nearly the same and range in the neighbourhood of 6. The ratios of the agriculturists and herdsmen are 197 and 195 respectively. But a reference to the marginal statistics discloses that neither the Kanbi nor the Bharwad nor Rabari women are less fertile than others whose ratios have been seen to be higher than those of theirs. On the contrary, the average number of children per Rabari family comes to 8·3, and 6·6 and 6·9 respectively per Bharwad and Kanbi family. The proportion of children to married females of the warrior class consisting of Rajputs and Kathis conforms to the averages calculated for their families. It stands at an appreciably low figure of 193, the average number of children per Kathi and Rajput family coming also to correspondingly low figures of 5·5 and 5·3. The lower social group of personal servants, which includes the Hajams and Khavas should have shown a higher proportion of children and not 186 which is the lowest with the exception of the Parsis. But a correcter reading in this behalf is offered by the Sex Table which shows the average number of children born to a Hajam family to stand at a fairly high figure of 7·1. In the case of Musalmans, the Vohoras and Khojas who are the local converts to Islam show greater fecundity than the Musalmans with foreign strain. The high ratio is also supported by a higher average of children per family which is 8·4 in the case of the Vohoras and 7·5 in the case of the Khojas. But the Sipais with foreign strain have only 5·3 children per family. The number of children below 14 to 100 Parsi married females between the ages of 14 to 43 is found to be the lowest (171) of all the castes and social classes considered above. The Sex Table which has examined only 3 Parsi families gives an average of 5·3 children to the family. But this apparent inferior fertility of the Parsis may not seem to be real, when it is borne in mind that their wholesale imitation of European culture and their consequent adoption of the western methods of birth control afford a more probable clue to the manifestation of this phenomenon.

Caste or Religion	Average per Family
Total ...	6·6
Hindu & Jain	
Bhangi	6·0
Bharwad	6·6
Brahman	6·9
Darji	6·7
Dhed	6·5
Hajam	7·1
Kanbi	6·9
Kathi	5·5
Koli	6·3
Kumbhar	5·6
Luhar	6·0
Mochi	6·4
Rabari	8·3
Rajput	5·3
Soni	6·5
Sutar	5·4
Vaghri	8·5
Vania (Hindu) ...	7·5
Vania (Jain) ...	7·3
Hindu (Others) ...	6·6
Musalman	
Khoja	7·5
Memon	6·1
Sipai	5·3
Vohora	8·4
Musalman (Others) ...	6·0
Parsi ...	5·7

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLE

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES

CASTE	MALES, NUMBER PER MILLE AGED						FEMALES, NUMBER PER MILLE AGED					
	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
HINDU AND JAIN												
I.—(Selected) Brahmans	**177**	**180**	**71**	**135**	**246**	**191**	**183**	**174**	**58**	**130**	**264**	**191**
Audichya	179	181	72	135	240	193	177	176	57	128	265	197
Modh	185	190	59	125	253	188	206	169	57	120	268	180
Nagar	148	176	72	141	263	200	171	170	75	152	254	178
Shrimali	189	157	76	148	259	171	188	170	53	138	264	187
II.—Warrior Class ...	**164**	**167**	**73**	**140**	**284**	**172**	**188**	**162**	**58**	**127**	**281**	**184**
Kathi	159	167	73	120	277	204	171	138	59	118	301	213
Rajput	165	167	73	145	286	164	194	168	58	131	275	174
III.—Bards	**159**	**182**	**71**	**145**	**275**	**168**	**186**	**161**	**68**	**116**	**288**	**181**
Charan	159	182	71	145	275	168	186	161	68	116	288	181
IV.—Traders (Hindu and Jain)	**181**	**183**	**70**	**143**	**239**	**184**	**179**	**179**	**61**	**129**	**271**	**181**
Lohana	194	183	61	164	241	157	184	187	54	124	269	182
Vania Dasha ...	159	169	70	156	241	205	176	165	65	129	257	208
,, Kapol ...	184	183	77	126	212	218	155	176	54	125	276	214
,, Modh ...	188	182	81	150	248	151	177	167	70	142	263	181
,, Porwad ...	129	189	108	145	253	176	136	150	85	162	253	214
Jain Visha Shrimali ...	183	186	66	140	251	174	192	185	63	130	276	154
V.—Agriculturists ...	**201**	**188**	**74**	**124**	**252**	**161**	**215**	**184**	**71**	**131**	**256**	**143**
Kachhia	194	161	105	138	249	153	212	182	70	126	257	153
Kanbi	201	188	74	124	252	161	215	185	71	131	255	143
Mali	188	187	72	128	269	156	192	158	56	138	316	140
VI.—Craftsmen and Artisans ...	**209**	**191**	**73**	**121**	**246**	**160**	**213**	**174**	**62**	**130**	**254**	**167**
Bhavsar	139	144	87	154	303	173	169	183	47	141	282	178
Darji	219	167	61	121	258	174	200	162	62	142	249	185
Gola	95	310	...	262	190	143	286	71	178	143	179	143
Kansara	173	156	70	143	290	168	197	163	46	130	270	194
Kumbhar	214	195	70	117	244	160	225	173	62	125	251	164
Luhar	210	198	83	129	251	129	199	172	72	137	257	163
Mochi	199	204	83	115	238	161	222	189	62	123	251	153
Soni	215	190	73	125	226	171	194	172	61	128	265	180
Sutar	200	190	77	123	240	170	204	186	59	133	257	161
VII.—Labouring Class ...	**267**	**201**	**64**	**121**	**242**	**105**	**235**	**177**	**57**	**116**	**273**	**142**
Dhobi	194	220	67	116	278	125	199	162	52	128	295	164
Koli	270	200	64	121	241	104	233	177	57	115	274	144
Vaghri	234	219	59	117	249	122	271	181	63	128	254	103

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX—*Contd.*

CASTE	Males, Number per Mille Aged						Females, Number per Mille Aged					
	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
VIII.—Herdsmen ...	**191**	**187**	**72**	**121**	**258**	**171**	**207**	**178**	**68**	**129**	**265**	**153**
Bharwad	189	192	75	117	254	173	207	179	73	131	258	152
Ahir	193	177	67	120	274	169	207	179	61	125	276	152
Rabari	191	191	73	133	244	168	208	173	67	128	264	160
IX.—Personal Servants	**204**	**181**	**69**	**132**	**266**	**148**	**217**	**172**	**55**	**146**	**263**	**147**
Hajam	207	182	71	134	257	149	225	182	58	146	250	139
Khavas	192	181	59	122	302	144	188	140	47	144	308	173
X.—Untouchables ...	**222**	**217**	**73**	**106**	**231**	**151**	**233**	**186**	**56**	**108**	**265**	**152**
Bhangi	221	209	73	117	242	138	231	191	57	127	267	127
Chamar	222	192	78	114	233	161	210	177	59	124	271	159
Dhed	223	227	70	100	227	153	239	187	56	98	262	158
XI.—Religious Mendicants ...	**178**	**171**	**72**	**121**	**275**	**183**	**209**	**168**	**64**	**137**	**255**	**167**
Bava	178	171	72	121	275	183	209	168	64	137	255	167
MUSLIM												
I.—With Foreign strain	**176**	**177**	**68**	**130**	**293**	**156**	**192**	**166**	**56**	**128**	**273**	**185**
Baloch	202	178	78	145	215	182	195	173	71	106	274	181
Sáiyad	188	163	80	113	282	174	134	197	40	154	293	182
Shaikh	105	156	48	156	362	173	193	172	57	142	267	169
Sipai	180	180	68	128	293	151	197	162	57	126	272	186
II.—Local Converts ...	**205**	**201**	**74**	**126**	**242**	**152**	**202**	**193**	**70**	**139**	**224**	**172**
Ghanchi	210	187	72	135	249	147	228	170	53	135	228	186
Khoja	216	209	77	122	230	146	198	201	84	149	191	177
Memon	203	209	74	121	244	149	201	195	63	126	256	159
Pinjara	178	178	78	156	240	170	187	184	33	129	239	228
Vohora	172	190	64	127	261	186	167	211	87	157	227	151
PARSI	107	136	59	118	284	296	114	93	79	143	357	214
INDIAN CHRISTIAN ...	132	111	35	180	361	181	168	178	84	159	290	121

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CHAPTER V

SEX

PART I

SECTION I—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

125. Reference to Statistics.—All the Imperial and State Tables supply separately the figures for both the sexes. The bearing of the statistics on each sex has been discussed in all the Chapters. Part I of the present Chapter deals mainly with the sex proportions of the general population by religion and age. While the statistical data for the latter will be found in Imperial Table VII, those for the selected castes will be found in Imperial Table VIII. Proportionate figures are, as usual, given in the Subsidiary Tables. Part II contains the general conclusions arrived at from an analysis of the Sex Tables given at the end, and compiled from the special fertility schedules.

126. Accuracy of Sex Returns.—The greater proportion of females in the sex proportions of Western Europe led some of the European critics during the earlier part of this century to accuse the Indian sex returns of inaccuracy and incompleteness. As the Indian sex ratio continuously showed greater masculinity than any of the countries of Western Europe, it was thought that there were very heavy omissions of female population. This judgment was based upon the wrong assumption that all the countries of the world should conform to the standard of Western Europe, whose figures have now been found on account of large currents of migration to be an exception to the general tendency towards greater masculinity observed even in Eastern Europe, United States of America, Canada, and Australia. A complete lie was given to the theory of omission and incompleteness by Sir Edward Gait in 1911. The arguments about the reticence of Indian people regarding their women under enumeration and the like now no longer hold water, and hardly deserve any refutation. For, it has been conclusively established that the sex proportions in India do not differ greatly from the sex proportions in other parts of the world. And the lapse of 20 years more during which the Census machinery has been working with greater precision and accuracy has more than demonstrated the unfairness of the charge that was once levelled against the sex returns of this country. It must be observed that so far as Bhavnagar is concerned there is no reason why one sex should have been omitted more than the other. The people no longer look upon the Census with any sort of disfavour; though the possibility of relatively greater inaccuracy in the age returns of females than in those of males in certain age groups with a view to understate the age of unmarried girls and exaggerate that of the married young wives with children cannot be denied.

Of all the errors that may creep into the Census records, the one that is most easy of correction relates to the sex of the enumerated. It is rarely returned inaccurately; and the cases of unconscious mistakes, when they occur, can immediately be rectified from the names which are unmistakably entered in the second column of the schedule.

127. Proportions of the Sexes.—The present Census records 2,57,156 males and 2,43,118 females in the actual population of the State, the excess of males over females being 14,038. The crude sex ratio of the censused population

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works out to be 945 females to 1,000 males. As the figures of persons born in this State and enumerated elsewhere are not available, it is not possible to know the true sex ratio of the natural population of the State. The proportion of one sex to another is not the same from Mahal to Mahal and from Census to Census. The local variations in the ratio which ranges from 895 in the City of Bhavnagar to 981 in the Mahal of Sihor primarily owe their existence to the difference in industrial and trade conditions and streams of migration which considerably affect the proportions of the sexes. But the Mahal ratios like that of the State exhibit a clear preponderance of males over females, the scarcity of females being not the same in all of them. The marginal table gives the proportions of females to 1,000 males for the State, City and Mahals. Roughly speaking, all the Mahals of the Southern Division show very nearly the same proportion of females to males. Their masculinity is lower than that of all the Mahals of the Northern Division except Sihor. Among some of the factors to be considered later on as influencing the variations in sex ratio, it has been said that a low damp climate is more favourable to females and dry uplands to males. But within the compass of such a small area of nearly 3,000 square miles as Bhavnagar possesses, the differences in the climatic and geographic conditions from one Division to another can hardly be deemed noteworthy and effective. And so, it is not possible to go beyond merely hinting the indirect effect of this factor as one of the causes affecting the variation. Migration plays a very important part in varying the proportions of the sexes in different localities. While the higher masculinity of the City is due to the immigration of able-bodied males for employment in urban occupations, the relatively less scarcity of females in Sihor should be attributed to the emigration of its males to the capital, as also to places outside the State.

MAHAL	Number of females to 1,000 males
Bhavnagar State ...	**945**
Daskroi (including the City) ...	915
Bhavnagar City	895
Umrala	917
Gadhada	930
Botad	931
Lilia	955
Kundla	960
Mahuva	962
Talaja	962
Victor	963
Sihor	981

128. Periodic Variations.—The table in the margin shows the variations at the different Censuses in the proportion of females to 1,000 males in the total population of the State. The ratio is not constant and has ranged from 926 in 1881 to 945 in 1931. The disparity of the sexes and preponderance of males over females are its striking features. The march of the ratio from decade to decade is clearly illustrated by the diagram at page 94. The females appear to be in marked defect in 1881 and 1891, when the ratio stood at 926, and 927 respectively. These two decades mark the commencement of the Census era, and some allowance must, therefore, be made for the initial omissions which are likely to occur in view of the fact that the Census plant in its present form was for the first time set up on the Indian soil. But the sex ratio remarkably improved in favour of females in 1901. For, by this time the plant had taken root and had been acclimatized to Indian conditions. The slight omissions that affected the sex statistics of the past decennia had disappeared, and the Census of 1901 might be taken to indicate a normal state of Census activities. But the chief cause of increase is to be sought elsewhere. The year 1900 saw heavy male mortality from starvation by the Great Famine. And as is well known, famine differentiates adversely to males who have to undergo great hardship in outdoor employment. But the womenfolk are better placed in that they remain at home and cook bread for their men. Moreover, the labour they are called upon to do at relief works, is not so severe and trying as is the case with males. Naturally, therefore, the losses in the ranks of the latter are comparatively greater and account for the rapid rise in the

Year	Proportion of females to 1,000 males in actual population
1881	926
1891	927
1901	943
1911	939
1921	936
1931	945

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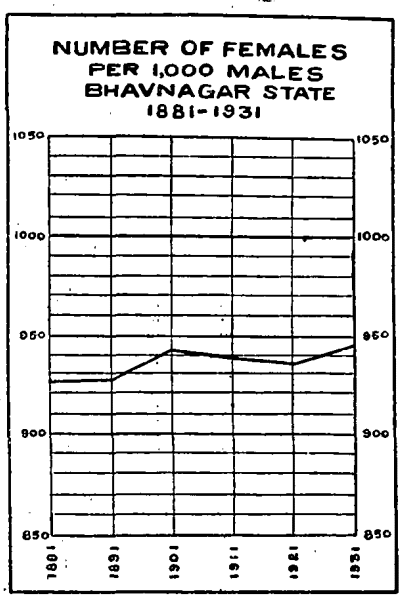
proportion of females to males from 927 in 1891 to 943 in 1901. During the next twenty years, the sex ratio fell to 939 and 936 in 1911 and 1921 respectively. Unlike the famine, plague and influenza affect adversely to women; and the decline in the proportion of females is easily explained. But during the past decennium, there is an appreciable rise in the ratio which reveals that the position of the female population is not so unfavourable to-day, as it was fifty years ago. The females are, of course, in defect, but the defect is not marked. As in all other respects the present Census succeeds in coming uppermost in exhibiting a healthy tendency towards balancing the proportions of the sexes.



129. Sex Proportions outside the State.—The table below gives the sex proportions in India and some of the Indian Provinces, States and other countries. The figures given therein bear out the remark made at the outset that all the countries except those of Western Europe show an excess of males over females. So far as India is concerned, it comes to be noticed that the deficiency of females is most noticeable in North-West India, and this defect diminishes as we proceed South and East.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES, AND IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, STATES AND PROVINCES OF INDIA

Country, State or Province	Census Year	Number of females per 1,000 males	Country, State or Province	Census Year	Number of females per 1,000 males
Germany	1921	1,099	Mysore	1931	955
England	,,	1,096	*Bhavnagar*	,,	*945*
Scotland	,,	1,080	Baroda	,,	942
Denmark	,,	1,053	*India*	,,	*940*
Commonwealth of Australia ...	,,	967	Bengal	,,	924
United States of America ...	,,	961	United Provinces... ...	,,	902
Dominion of Canada ...	,,	940	Bombay	,,	901
			Assam	,,	900
Cochin	1931	1,043	Ajmer-Merwara	,,	892
Madras	,,	1,025	Gwalior	,,	887
Bihar and Orissa	,,	1,005	Kashmir	,,	881
Central Provinces and Berar...	,,	998	North-West Frontier Province	,,	843
Travancore	,,	987	Coorg	,,	803
Western India States Agency	,,	974	Delhi	,,	722
Hyderabad	,,	959	Baluchistan	,,	717
Burma	,,	958	Andaman Nicobar ...	,,	495

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SECTION II—SEX RATIO AT BIRTH AND DEATH

130. Sex Ratio at Birth.—The distinction between the crude sex ratio of the enumerated population as existing on the Night of the Census, and the sex ratio as disclosed by the proportion of one sex to another at birth should now be seen. Both the ratios are the result of different sets of causes acting differently. There is a tendency in every human society for the number of males and females born to be approximately equal. This is true not only in the case of men alone, but as Darwin has shown it is true of all diœceous animals. It has been held proven by the latest investigations that in all the countries of the world, the male births are in excess of the female. The masculinity of the sex ratio at birth has been universally established. Even those countries of Western Europe whose censused populations have been found to show a preponderance of females in their crude ratios obey this invariable natural law. Though there are but slight variations in the birth sex ratio, the masculinity of the crude ratio varies considerably in different countries and among different classes of the same people. Variations in the masculinity of the adult populations of different races and countries are also great. Apart from the differential survival rate of the two sexes at different age categories, which plays the most important part in determining the subsequent variations in the masculinity of adult populations of all the countries, the complications introduced by the disturbing factors of migration have been already referred to previously. Mr. Pitt-Rivers, a recent writer on this subject, says:—

"While the sex-ratio may exhibit a constant tendency at birth, that ratio owing to a differential survival rate differs from the sex ratios at other stages of development either previous to, or at any stage subsequent to, birth. More particularly, the sex ratio at birth differs from the sex-ratio at the ages of maturity and reproduction, which are the ages at which the sex-ratio may be expected to exercise the greatest influence upon racial tendencies." [1]

The masculinity of birth and influence of race upon the sex ratio are illustrated by the statistics for Indian provinces marginally quoted from the paper on "The Sex Ratio at Birth" by Mr. S. De Jastrzebski who has collected and investigated a good deal of recent material on the subject. The universality of this phenomenon, *i.e.*, of the preponderance of male births over female births will be seen from the marginal statement[2] which supplies the sex ratios at birth of leading European countries and American States, given by Havelock Ellis in his *Man and Woman*. Even the countries of Western Europe like England and France whose crude ratios are marked by feminity, show masculinity of birth. Because the former which represent the proportions of

Province	Representative Racial Division	Males to 1,000 Females
Bihar and Orissa ...	Mongolo-Dravidian	1,040
Coorg	Scythio-Dravidian	1,040
Madras	Dravidian	1,045
Central Provinces and Berar... ...	,,	1,046
Assam	Mongoloid	1,070
United Provinces ...	Aryo-Dravidian	1,082
Punjab	Indo-Aryan	1,097
North-West Frontier ...	Turco-Iranian	1,236

Country	Proportion of male births to 100 Female births	Country	Proportion of male births to 100 Female births
Russian Poland ...	101	Sweden ...	105
England ...	104	Denmark ...	105
France ...	105	European Russia ...	105
Scotland ...	105	Vermont ...	105
Prussia ...	105	Rhode Island ...	105
Bavaria ...	105	Italy ...	106
Saxony ...	105	Ireland ...	106
Thuringia ...	105	Austria ...	106
Wurtemberg ...	105	Croatia ...	106
Baden ...	105	Norway ...	106
German Empire ...	105	Servia ...	106
Alsace-Lorraine ...	105	Massachusetts ...	106
Hungary ...	105	Spain ...	106
Switzerland ...	105	Connecticut ...	110
Belgium ...	105	Roumania ...	111
Holland ...	105	Greece ...	112

1. *Clash of Culture and Contact of Races*, p. 247.
2. Reproduced from *Determination of Sex*, p. 8, by William J. Fielding.

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the sexes in the population enumerated at the time of the Census, result from the operation of different sets of causes after birth which, as will be seen further, vary from place to place and from one people to another.

Enumerating the factors which affect the masculinity of the sex ratio at birth and tend to bring about the variations in the proportion of males to females, Mr. Jastrzebski concludes that masculinity at birth is affected by race, that it is generally higher in legitimate than in illegitimate births; that it is greater in rural than in urban populations; and that it is probably slightly greater in the first than in subsequent births. It is sometimes suggested that if at the time of coitus the male has a stronger desire than the female, and if the conception takes place, the child will be female, and *vice versa*. But it is next to impossible to say how far this factor affects the sex ratio. The experience of the last World War which showed a rise in the masculinity at birth in England and other belligerent countries, as also in some of the neutral countries has been regarded to lend support to the theory that "in times of famine, pestilence, war and migration, the percentage of male births tends to rise." And this is as it should be, for as stated before Nature tries to maintain an equilibrium between the numbers of males and females born. And the rising birth percentage of the males immediately following such calamities as the war, famine, etc., merely indicates Nature's efforts to recoup the greater proportionate loss in population entailed by the males. The Hofacker and Sadler's Law which propounded that where the wife is older than the husband, the percentage of girl babies tends to rise, now no longer holds the ground, and is consigned to the limbo of exploded theories. Little importance is nowadays attached to the view that altered nutrition, temperature, and other environmental changes can alter the numerical proportion of male and female infants. According to Darwin,

"The proportions of the sexes are the resultant of natural selection by which an inherited tendency to produce female or male offspring is adjusted to the needs of the species. Such adjustments may be brought about in countless ways wherein all these (external) factors may each or conjointly operate."[1]

Regarding the influence of external fator, Mr. Pitt-Rivers is of the same opinion, when he says:—

"The view that external conditions may actually be factors in determining sex, although admittedly, they have some part in determining the ratio is now generally abandoned by biologists."[2]

In other words, the factors that determine sex are quite different from the factors that produce the variations at birth. The latter are many and varied and have been briefly reviewed. As regards the factors which determine the sex of the born, it has been said:—

"The more recently developed scientific hypothesis (is) that sex-determination is based upon a definite factor of inheritance—the X—chromosome... This hypothesis assumes that at the moment of conception the sex of the individual is irrevocably fixed and that no factor of nutrition, temperature, or age of parents, etc., can in the slightest degree influence sex after conception has taken place. Of course, there is still the possibility that these factors *may influence* the cell activities and metabolism of the parent before conception, thus indirectly affecting the sex-ratio."[3]

1. *Baroda Census Report, 1921*, p. 214.
2. Pitt-Rivers, *Clash of Culture and Contact of Races*, p. 250
3. W. J, Fielding, *Determination of Sex*.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

ACTUAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS REPORTED FOR EACH SEX DURING THE DECADE 1921-30

Years	Number of Births			Number of Deaths			Difference between column 2 and 3. Excess of latter over former (+) Defect (—)	Difference between column 5 and 6. Excess of latter over former (+) Defect (—)	Difference between column 4 and 7. Excess of former over latter (+) Defect (—)	Number of female births per 1,000 male births	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1921	3,521	3,053	6,574	4,372	3,693	8,065	—468	— 679	—1,491	867	845
1922	3,312	2,969	6,281	5,273	4,203	9,476	—343	—1,070	—3,195	896	797
1923	3,890	3,495	7,385	3,764	3,108	6,872	—395	— 656	+ 513	898	826
1924	4,084	3,534	7,618	3,346	2,788	6,134	—550	— 558	+1,484	865	833
1925	3,960	3,586	7,546	2,539	2,136	4,675	—374	— 403	+2,871	906	841
1926	4,850	4,344	9,194	4,440	3,827	8,267	—506	— 613	+ 927	896	862
1927	4,712	4,168	8,880	3,044	2,568	5,612	—544	— 476	+3,268	885	844
1928	4,935	4,339	9,274	4,085	3,260	7,345	—596	— 825	+1,929	879	798
1929	4,640	4,081	8,721	4,952	4,200	9,152	—559	— 752	— 431	880	848
1930	6,107	5,346	11,453	5,001	4,356	9,357	—761	— 645	+2,096	875	871
Total 1921-30	44,011	38,915	82,926	40,816	34,139	74,955	—5,096	—6,677	+7,971	884	836

131. Subsidiary Table I Considered.—The sex ratio at birth and death will now be considered in the light of births and deaths recorded during the past decade and given in the foregoing Subsidiary Table. The incompleteness of the registration of vital occurrences may not render them useful for the purposes of the Health Department. But the errors of omission being constant, the figures can be safely used by a Census Report for comparing the proportions of birth and death among the sexes. While the average ratio of recorded births for the past decennium is 884 females to 1,000 males, the crude ratio of the general population according to the present Census is 945 females. There is a great discrepancy between these two ratios; and according to the reported figures, females appear to be in marked defect. But the recorded figures do not represent the correct position. The unequalness of omissions is responsible for the divergence which results from the greater number of male births reported than the female, owing to the high estimation in which male life is generally held. But the masculinity at birth or the higher proportion of male births than female which is an irrefutable universal phenomenon is nevertheless established. While the net excess of males over females in the *de facto* population is 14,038, the excess of recorded male births over the female is only 5,096 during the last ten years. Though the balance is in favour of the male population, and truly so, the discrepancy cannot be so great even after the influence of immigration and emigration is accounted for. The inference is irresistible that a larger number of female births remain unreported.

132. Sex Ratio at Death.—The sex ratio at death according to the deaths reported during 1921-30 averages to 836. The greater number of male deaths are no doubt partly due to their higher proportionate strength in the general population. But there is no escaping from the fact that the average male death-rate is higher than the female, and this is also borne out by the reported rates

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which are respectively 9·3 and 8·3 per mille of the male and female population. The recorded average survival rate of both the sexes in the State is found to be the same. But as will be seen in the subsequent section, the disparity of the sexes and masculinity of the sex ratio persist during the greater part of the age categories owing to their differential survival and death-rates. In the absence of similar statistics for the past decades, it is not possible to compare the figures of the present Census with those of the preceding and estimate the variation in the female death-rate owing to influenza and plague epidemics.

SECTION III—SEX PROPORTIONS BY AGE, RELIGION AND CASTE

133. Sex Proportions by Age.—The following Subsidiary Table compares the sex ratios at different age periods for the three main religions at each of the last three Censuses. The sex proportions of the general population alone will be considered here, the discussion of the influence of religion on the sex ratio, if any, being deferred to a later stage of the discourse.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-PERIODS BY RELIGION AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES

AGE	All Religions			Hindus			Musalmans			Jains		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0-1	999	1,026	1,013	989	1,042	1,015	1,000	899	1,059	1,210	990	917
1-2	1,071	1,056	1,036	1,067	1,059	1,042	1,116	1,089	997	1,047	947	991
2-3	1,046	1,099	1,063	1,051	1,103	1,069	1,028	1,065	969	994	1,064	1,130
3-4	1,077	1,030	1,003	1,073	1,040	1,007	1,098	932	954	1,117	1,025	1,028
4-5	1,005	923	945	1,005	925	947	1,023	901	920	973	928	939
Total 0-5	**1,038**	**1,018**	**1,012**	**1,035**	**1,025**	**1,016**	**1,046**	**966**	**978**	**1,072**	**983**	**1,000**
5-10	937	915	909	934	909	906	912	948	910	1,060	974	973
10-15	785	779	871	783	773	866	744	777	877	899	879	955
15-20	803	1,002	917	804	994	919	830	1,051	917	712	1,044	878
20-25	1,051	953	964	1,049	949	966	1,116	942	972	989	1,038	935
25-30	932	982	972	928	974	972	951	1,050	931	973	1,033	1,051
Total 0-30	**933**	**939**	**940**	**932**	**936**	**940**	**936**	**945**	**930**	**955**	**982**	**963**
30-40	936	935	961	937	925	958	934	967	951	934	989	1,042
40-50	902	875	917	905	874	918	887	881	908	903	889	927
50-60	908	983	946	907	988	942	915	931	1,035	934	996	877
60 and over	1,189	1,016	1,050	1,197	1,021	1,046	1,117	994	1,112	1,219	1,005	1,041
30 and over	947	928	957	948	926	954	940	936	975	957	960	973
Total All Ages (Actual Population)	**939**	**936**	**945**	**938**	**933**	**945**	**937**	**942**	**944**	**956**	**975**	**966**
Total All Ages (Natural Population)	**Not available**											

It is seen that the crude sex ratio undergoes violent fluctuations from one age group to another, and hardly exhibits any constancy about it. The variations in the proportions of different groups are distinct, and must be traced to the conditions after birth which in the main are instrumental in bringing about a differential survival or mortality rate of the sexes. Though the higher male death-rate is, as Darwin said, a constitutional peculiarity due to sex alone which is normally

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exhibited amongst all races in every age category from birth to old age, causes of differential sex mortality differ from sex to sex and from one period of age to another, the survival value of each sex being determined by the mode of life, social customs, and industrial condition of the people. The constitutional advantage in favour of women is evidenced by the marginal table which supplies the proportion of females to 1,000 males in certain age groups. During the earlier age periods in spite of the higher masculinity at birth and greater attention paid to male than female life, the ratio is in favour of females, and has continued to be so for all the last three Censuses. The excess of females has varied from 38 per mille in 1911 to 12 in 1931 in the age group 0–5. Females are in excess of males in all the individual age periods upto the age of 4 and the higher female ratio ranges from 1,003 for the age-group 3–4 in 1931 to 1,099 for the age-group 2–3 in 1921, during the last thirty years. With the age group 4–5, the female defect becomes noticeable for the first time. This confirms the view generally held that infant mortality is habitually higher for male than female children, especially during the first four or five years of life. This constitutional peculiarity which gives a higher survival value to female life is noticeable in the longer mean duration of their lives as also in the sex ratio at the age-group 60 and over which shows a proportion of 1,050 females to 1,000 males in the State population. But in all the intermediate groups, *i.e.*, between the ages of 5 and 60, the female population points to a varying degree of deficiency in their proportions. The latter result is brought about by the differential survival or mortality rate of the sexes under the external influence of "the social actions of men which", as Letourneau remarked, "produce the most profound disturbances in the proportion of the sexes".[1]

Age-Group	1911	1921	1931
0-4	1,045	1,051	1,029
4-5	1,005	923	945
0-5	1,038	1,018	1,012
1-15	937	917	935
15-45	934	948	952
45-60	873	948	881
60 and over	1,189	1,016	1,050
All Ages	**939**	**936**	**945**

It has been already observed that the sex ratio differs in different countries and races, and among different groups in the same country. The variations in the ratio are due to the differential influence upon the sex proportions by the social actions of men as represented by the customs of society and the economic conditions under which they live. It is very vividly brought about by the different crude sex ratios of the different countries of the world and of this State as well as India. In both these cases the initial advantage as disclosed by the sex ratio at birth is slightly in favour of males. But the differences in the conditions after birth tend to produce dissimilar results, as evidenced by their crude ratios. In the State, all the age groups from 5–60 show that the females are in defect. The deficiency is very marked between the ages of 5 and 20, and that in the case of female children under the age of 10 is due to the want of proper attention towards female life. There are 909 female children in the age group 5-10 to 1,000 male children. But one fails to see in this deficiency any substantiation of the charge of any deliberate or conscious neglect of female children on the part of parents which is often made by some critics. All parents love their children and nobody wishes to get himself rid of them, because they belong to a weaker sex. To say that a female infant is neglected is quite different from saying that sons receive a more favoured treatment than their sisters which it is not our intention to deny. The ideas of the people have, under the stress of social and political upheaval which is the main characteristic of the last two decades, been greatly revolutionized. The signs of the time are reflected in the demand for and recognition of the social, political and even economic equality of the sexes that is nowadays proclaimed from all quarters. The next two higher age categories, *viz.*, 10-15 and 15-20 show considerable dearth of females. While the ratio of females is 871 in the case of the former, in that of the latter it is 917. It is due to the understatement of the ages of

1. *The Evolution of Marriage*, p. 75 quoted in India Census Report, 1911, p. 215.

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unmarried girls who have attained puberty and exaggeration of those of the young girl mothers. The deficiency in these groups is to a great extent genuine as it arises from the heavy losses suffered by the female population in their prime of life owing to their being victims to the twin social evils of early marriage and premature motherhood. The delicate constitution of the young mother is shattered by deliveries at short intervals which reduce her in some cases to a mere wreck of human constitution. The absence of youthful vigour, energy, and vitality which are so essential to fight the battle of life, puts females to a great disadvantage and conspires to reduce their span of life. Added to these is a large number of innocent and early deaths occurring from the defective and unskilful art of midwifery practised by the indigenous midwife. The surroundings under which the new life is to come into being are rarely sanitary and conducive to the health of the new-born babe and its mother. The cases of septicœmia are not rare. The home life of the womenfolk is hardly congenial. Cases are not few in which the young wife has to keep herself occupied with the hard and severe duties of the household. All these factors combined account for the greater toll exacted from women between the ages of 12 and 20. But women in the age groups 25–45 do not fare so badly, though their proportions in the age groups 45–55 are considerably reduced, partly owing to age and partly owing to the effects of causes noted before.

134. Diagrams.—The discussion as to the disparity of sexes at different age periods which has now been concluded can be best understood by the two diagrams opposite. The lower diagram shows the proportion of females to 1,000 males at certain quinary age periods. The scarcity of females is clear and unmistakable. Another diagram plots the curves showing the departures of the proportions of the numbers of each sex in each age period from fifty per cent. of the total recorded persons in that age period at the Census of 1931. We have already noticed the tendency of the proportions of each sex at birth to be approximately equal, the initial advantage being slightly in the favour of males. The females being constitutionally better equipped to show a higher survival rate than males, other things being equal, no unfavourable departure on their part from the fifty per cent. line should have been expected. But the effects of social life in reducing their numbers are clearly visible in their curve continuously falling below the line except in the earlier and later age periods. Departure from the mean line by falling below it is the greatest in the groups 5–20 and 45–55. The greater advantage which men possess over women is shown by their curve continuously travelling upwards of the mean line for all the ages from 5 to 55.

135. Social Causes favouring Males.—The higher male proportions at the main age periods and their causes have been examined. Some of the remaining causes which are directly or indirectly regarded to affect the sex proportions will now be considered. The disparity of sexes is patent, and is in the main due to the peculiar social condition of the country. The whole atmosphere seems to have been, until recently, biased in favour of males. The bad effects of the legacy of the past cannot be easily shaken off. Sons are more ardently desired than daughters. A male offspring is a prospective earning member of the family, whereas a girl baby is regarded as a possession of another man's family. While a son raises in the hearts of his parents the expectation of protecting and feeding them in their old age, a daughter is a source of drain on the family purse upto the end of her life, and even thereafter. Hypergamy or the custom of giving a girl in marriage to one higher in social status with the consequent evil custom of finding high dowries in certain castes like the Rajputs was accused in Kathiawar of being responsible for female infanticide, especially among the Rajputs of the Jadeja Clan.[1] So far

1. According to Col. Walker, "in former times the Jadejas were noted for the practice of female infanticide. The origin of this unnatural custom is enveloped in the cloud of romance and fable which usually enshrouds rites handed down from time immemorial....Whether or no this story is true, it is a fact that when the British Government first interfered in the affairs of Kathiawar, the practice of infanticide was universal among the Jadeja, Sumra, and Jethva tribes of Rajputs". *Bombay Gazetteer, Gujarat*, Ch. III, p. 112.

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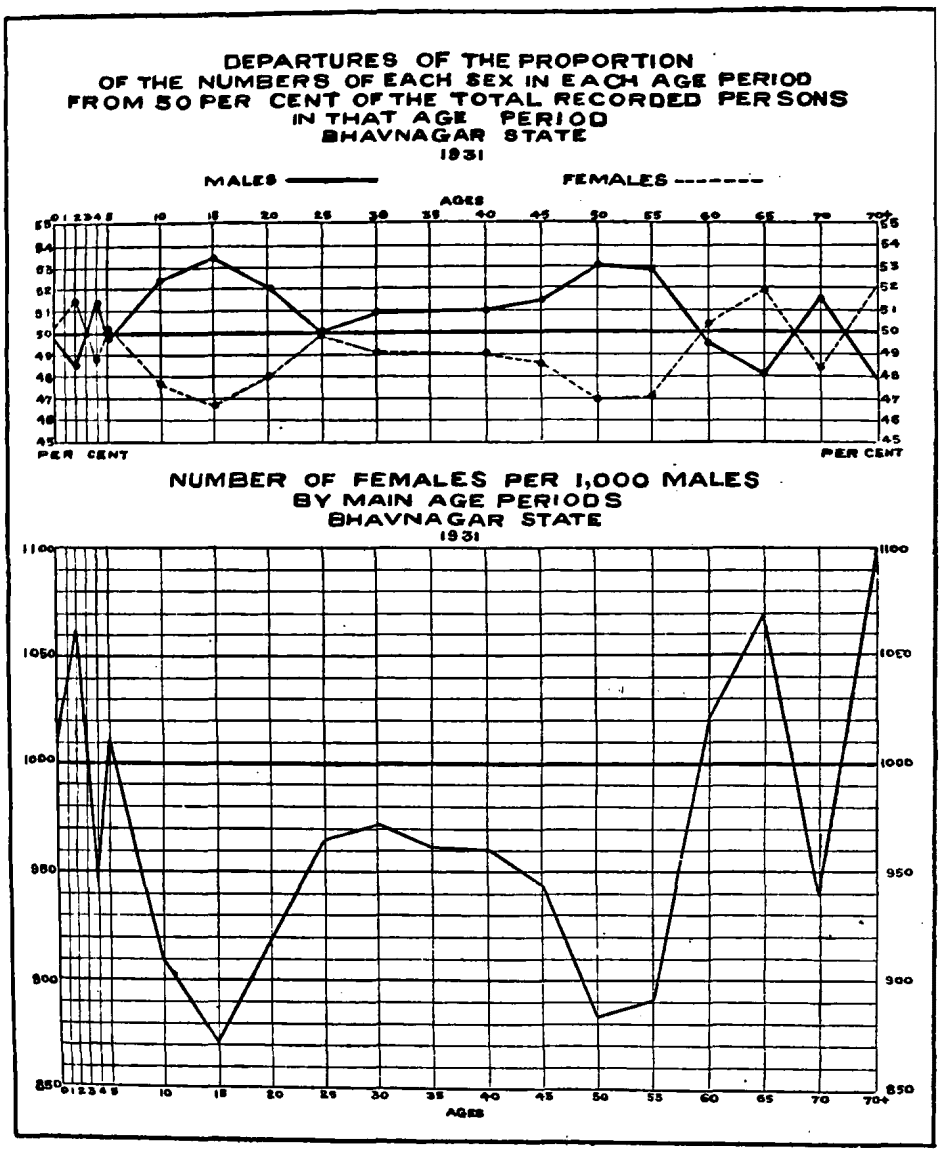

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as Bhavnagar is concerned it has been singularly free from this stain. Even in other parts of the Peninsula, the custom now no longer prevails and has completely fallen out of use. Enforced widowhood, even of girl widows, is a cause of grave and life-long anxiety to the parents of the upper classes which do not permit their remarriages. Legal sanction in depriving her of a share in the property of the joint family in which her husband was a coparcener, and the consequent hardship in getting adequate provision for her maintenance have made the lot of the widow hard and pitiable. To add insult to injury, superstition has joined hands with the so-called religion in ordaining that looking at her face and her *shukana* or presence on auspicious occasions should be scrupulously avoided, if the ceremonies are to be brought to a successful termination. Religious sanction for favouring the birth of a son by making it obligatory upon a man to perpetuate himself by procreating a son, if he is to be saved from the hell called *put* raises the status of a male child. And if the element of human will is a factor which must also count, then it should not be omitted from the list as influencing the whole social atmosphere in the favour of sons and greater male proportions. These causes do operate even to-day, though it must be admitted that the birth of a female child is now no longer looked upon with disfavour. The social and legal inequalities are still there, though with the changed outlook of society upon the rights of the weaker sex her hardships have been considerably reduced.

136. Ill Effects of Scarcity.—Though the crude ratio shows a fairly high degree of masculinity, if the society is to lead a healthy and moral life, the proportions of the sexes in the reproductive age categories must be adjusted in such a way as to produce a balance in favour of females. In the State, between the ages of 15 and 45 which comprise the productive period of life, the females show a defect of 48 per mille of males. This condition of the adult population is unsatisfactory as it indicates that there are some males who must remain unmarried all their life. The consequent spread of underground prostitution and immorality which lower the moral tone of society are the result. The scarcity of females is also disclosed by the sale of girls and married females for which some parts of Kathiawar are alleged to have acquired cheap notoriety. The marriage, far from being a religious purpose for which both the wife and husband unite, is reduced to the farce of a mere contract between the two parties. The deficiency of females of marriageable age in the State has been brought to our notice by the very heavy bride prices exacted from the husband's father in some of the sub-castes of Brahmans, Vanias, Kansaras, Sutars, Sonis, as also in the lower castes like Rabaris, Luhars, Kumbhars and the untouchables. As would be expected, the wife becomes a necessary evil that must be purchased for a valuable consideration, if a family life is to be led. Sometimes the poor husband is reduced to penury, and is subjected to great hardship in married life, owing to his inability to pay the debt incurred to contract his marriage. As for the wife, she becomes a costly possession, a chattel of her master who can cherish little regard for his human commodity. Still cases of happy nuptial life resulting from such marriages are not rare, and in those communities where the custom is of long standing and recognised by the caste, it is taken as a matter of course. But this should not blind us to the other side of the shield.

137. Influence of Immigration on Masculinity.—The City of Bhavnagar is the most highly urbanized area of the State. The number of persons who immigrate is greater than those who emigrate. And so the effects of the disturbing currents of migration on the population in different age categories may well be studied by analysing the figures for the City, and seeing how far they differ from the sex proportions of the general population.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-PERIODS BY RELIGIONS, 1931

AGE	All Religions	Hindus	Musalmans	Jains
0—1	1,029	1,034	1,087	923
1—2	974	989	967	867
2—3	1,010	1,011	995	1,095
3—4	989	979	1,050	989
4—5	948	951	959	868
Total 0—5	**991**	**994**	**1,009**	**946**
5–10	878	866	931	877
10–15	825	808	871	873
15–20	839	838	861	807
20–25	868	865	893	862
25–30	830	821	792	992
Total 0–30	**877**	**871**	**901**	**888**
30–40	847	833	829	1,009
40–50	936	944	864	1,018
50–60	1,036	1,038	1,155	904
60 and over	1,153	1,150	1,183	1,230
30 and over	934	930	923	1,013
Total all Ages (Actual Population)	**895**	**889**	**908**	**928**
Total all Ages (Natural Population)	Not available			

A reference to the Subsidiary Table III shows that the existence of a foreign element in the intermediate age groups is responsible for the violent fluctuations which occur in them. It has been noticed in Chapter II that the immigration of the able-bodied males for being employed in the trading and commercial occupations of the City swells the number of males in the urban population. The marginal table which compares the sex proportions of the City and the State populations at different age periods shows the variations in the two sets of ratios. The females appear to be in marked defect between the ages of 10 and 40 in the City, as the ranks of the working or economically productive section of the male population of the City are reinforced by this inward flow of immigrants being far less than the male. It will be seen that the sex proportions of the City Jains are peculiarly constituted. From the age group 25–30 and onward, they show a lowering of the masculinity ratio. The proportions nearly approach equality in the age period 25–30, while for the ages from 30 to 50, the females are in preponderance. But the crude sex ratio of the followers of Jainism comes to 928. This marked balance in favour of females, particularly in the effective age periods 30–50, is due to their males migrating outside the State for hazarding in industrial and commercial ventures. The cosmopolitan character and greater male strength of the City sex ratio are evidenced by its crude ratio being 895 females as against 945 for the State. The deficit of females in the City population thus exceeds that in the actual population by 50 per mille of males.

Age Group	Proportion of females to 1,000 males	
	State	City
0—5	1,012	991
5–10	909	878
10–40	932	842
40 and Over	954	1,004
All Ages	**945**	**895**

Confirmation is also received from these figures for the proposition of Mr. S. De Jastrzebski that masculinity at birth is greater in rural than in urban population. Though separate statistics for the rural and urban sex proportions are not available, the figures for the general population, seventy per cent. of whose population is rural, may be compared with those of the City in order to have a.

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relative idea of the variation in these two sorts of ratios. This can be done by comparing the proportion of infants, *i.e.*, of children under one year in both these areas. It is observed that while in the State as a whole the proportion of female infants is 1,013, that in the City is 1,029 to 1,000 male infants. The lower masculinity of the City sex ratio at birth is quite apparent. An examination of the similar figures by the main religions both for the State and City points to the same conclusion. The marginal statistics show that there is a uniform lowering of masculinity or increase in the proportion of female infants in the case of the religions of the City.

Religion	Proportion of females per 1,000 males in the age group 0-1	
	State	City
All Religions	*1,013*	*1,029*
Hindu	1,015	1,034
Muslim	1,059	1,087
Jain	917	923

138. Sex Proportions by Religion.—Subsidiary Table II compares the sex proportions at different age periods by religion for the last three Censuses. The present section aims at finding out the influence, if any, of religion on sex. The marginal table supplies the sex ratios of the main religions, as revealed by the present Census. At first sight, they would seem to show some influence on sex by the varying nature of their masculinity. The Parsis and Christians appear to possess a very high degree of masculinity. But on a closer examination, it will be found that they do not represent the natural proportions of these communities, as their members are mainly outsiders and come to the State either for business or service. Further, their numbers are very limited and many of them leave their females behind, and so it is but quite natural that they would show a considerably higher proportion of males. The sex indices of the remaining main religions of the State do not show any appreciable variations. The masculinity of the Jains is lower than that of the Hindus or Musalmans. But this is due to the migratory characteristic of this community which sends out its young males for profitable employment at commercial centres like Bombay and Ahmedabad. The very fact that the Hindu and Muslim ratios are equal should suffice to come at once to the conclusion that religion does not have any influence on the sex ratio. For, if it did, it must have manifested itself in the ratios of the adherents of these two religions which differ from one another in varied respects. The principal factor which influences the proportions of the sexes in the same tract is primarily racial. And the religions of India, as of all other countries do not claim any one particular race for their followers. Hinduism of to-day is not the Hinduism of the Vedic times. It does not include within its fold pure Aryan blood. Originally synthetic, it has absorbed and assimilated the cultures of all the foreign races with which it came into contact. Before its impact with Islam, it had not assumed its present form of water-tight compartments. So the Hindus of to-day far from being of purely Aryan strain contain Dravidian and Scythin blood also. And what is true of the Hindus is true to a greater degree in case of the followers of Islam. Religion by itself has, therefore, no effect on the proportions of the sexes.

Religion	Proportion of females per 1,000 males
Hindu	945
Muslim	944
Jain	966
Zoroastrian ...	828
Christian	731

139. Sex Proportions by Castes.—Subsidiary Table IV printed at the end of Part I of this Chapter shows the number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes. The castes are so numerous that it is not possible to take one caste after another in order to ascertain, if they have any bearing on sex proportions. But they can be usefully grouped under different social heads as in the preceding Chapter to ascertain the influence of occupation, environment, and race upon the sex ratio. Castes in India stand for graded degrees of poverty and prosperity. The upper classes who ply the more profitable occupations stand higher

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in the economic scale, while the lower classes who generally busy themselves with less profitable employment or menial service form the lower strata of society. The arrangement of castes, therefore, according to the groups as shown in the margin can be studied with some profit. Masculinity is seen to be the highest among the religious mendicants. This is due partly to the inclusion among them of a greater number of persons who are life-long celebates, as also to a relatively greater degree of abstinence that they may be practising. The trader, warrior and agricultural classes as also the herdsmen show a comparatively higher proportion of males than females. The traders whose sex ratio is 930 show the effects of occupation and social status upon masculinity. The warrior class which consists of the Kathis and Rajputs possesses 908 females to 1,000 males. But their separate ratios are 1,024 and 879 respectively. The greater female proportion in the case of the tall and robust Kathis whose racial and ethnic type differs greatly from that of the other castes, may be a character of their line. The marked female defect among the Rajputs which is as high as 121 per mille of males, apart from its being due to racial and occupational factors, appears to have resulted to some extent from their being a *purdah* caste whose tendency to omit some of their females from enumeration cannot be overlooked. The agriculturists who constitute the Kanbis have 930 females to 1,000 males. But the sex ratio (900) of the herdsmen who include the Ahirs and Rabaris who are ethnically different from the upper classes appears to be due to the racial factor favouring higher masculinity. To this must also be added the effects of hard outdoor life which their females have to lead, and which must inevitably react upon their survival value. This is also borne out by the fact that the numbers of Ahir and Rabari women per 1,000 males aged 44 and over are only 820 and 852 respectively. While the sex ratio of the Bards and labouring classes falls much above the State index, and while that of the priests, labourers, artisans and the untouchables approaches very nearly to equality, that of the personal servants like Hajam and Khavas shows a distinct feminity. The labourers who include the aborigines like the Kolis and Vaghris and the untouchables who include the Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars may be owing their lower masculinity to their racial character and occupational factor mainly involving physical labour and consequent strain upon their body. On the whole, it may be surmised that the masculinity is found to be greater in the higher and lower in the descending social and economic groups. The one important factor that should be noted in this connection is that the ratio is also affected by the differential survival rate of each group which is greater in the upper classes than in the lower.

GROUPS	Number of females to 1,000 males
State	**945**
Priestly Class	998
Warrior Class	908
Bards	951
Traders (including Hindu and Jain)	930
Agriculturists	930
Craftsmen and Artisans ...	992
Labouring Class	977
Herdsmen	900
Personal Servants	1,095
Untouchables	988
Religious Mendicants ...	840

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLE

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES

CASTE	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES						
	All ages	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-23	24-43	44 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Hindu							
Ahir ...	912	977	926	832	953	917	820
Bava ...	840	987	823	747	958	777	765
Bhangi ...	948	992	867	740	1,029	1,042	875
Bharwad ...	894	981	843	871	1,002	911	784
Bhavsar ...	1,024	1,241	1,300	556	938	952	1,056
Brahman Audichya	1,031	1,022	1,005	811	978	1,139	1,049
,, Modh ...	934	1,048	831	912	902	994	899
,, Nagar ...	871	1,009	843	895	941	840	775
,, Shrimali...	1,195	1,188	1,297	831	1,121	1,218	1,301
Chamar ...	966	913	891	733	1,055	1,121	955
Charan ...	951	1,117	840	918	758	996	1,023
Darji ...	1,092	996	1,054	1,108	1,288	1,055	1,166
Dhed ...	1,007	1,081	831	789	986	1,169	1,039
Dhobi ...	899	923	661	694	1,000	953	1,179
Golar ...	667	2,000	154	...	364	625	667
Hajam ...	1,060	1,154	1,060	863	1,155	1,031	986
Kachhia ...	966	1,059	1,091	641	881	993	986
Kanbi Kadva ...	940	946	940	1,031	950	892	950
,, Lewa ...	930	998	908	885	984	948	821
Kansara ...	891	1,014	930	586	814	829	1,029
Kathi ...	1,024	1,103	844	826	1,011	1,112	1,071
Kumbhar ...	981	1,032	868	860	1,054	1,011	1,008
Khavas ...	1,242	1,218	959	979	1,475	1,264	1,496
Koli ...	983	847	870	883	932	1,118	1,368
Luhana ...	902	858	923	797	679	1,005	1,046
Luhar ...	953	905	827	822	1,014	977	1,199
Mali ...	847	867	716	654	913	995	759
Mochi ...	1,019	1,139	940	759	1,090	1,078	971
Rabari ...	895	973	808	827	864	968	852
Rajput ...	879	1,029	886	701	789	847	937
Soni ...	951	864	869	800	976	1,123	1,006
Sutar ...	992	1,178	972	768	1,074	1,063	939
Vaghri ...	833	1,042	745	955	983	920	765
Vania Kapol ...	1,015	855	980	722	998	1,323	993
,, Porwad ...	618	656	489	481	694	619	750
,, Modh ...	985	927	905	857	928	1,047	1,177
,, Dasha ...	1,000	1,111	978	927	825	1,066	1,014
Jain							
Vania Visha Shrimali	945	998	950	910	884	1,052	845
Muslim							
Baloch ...	934	898	907	842	686	1,192	932
Ghanchi ...	995	1,078	901	729	1,000	913	1,258
Khoja ...	968	886	934	1,059	1,181	803	1,170
Memon ...	979	972	917	825	1,020	1,0.9	1,040
Pinjara ...	1,063	1,042	429	833	1,000	1,348	1,007
Sheikh ...	744	1,357	823	895	677	549	725
Saivad ...	970	691	1,169	483	1,318	1,010	1,016
Sipai ...	887	972	799	736	875	825	1,091
Vohora ...	950	930	1,058	1,280	1,179	823	769
Parsi							
Parsi ...	828	889	565	1,100	1,000	1,042	600
Christian							
Indian Christian ...	743	947	1,188	580	654	596	500

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CHAPTER V—SEX

PART II

Sex and Fertility

140. Reference to Statistics.—The Sex Tables, embodied in this Part, contain the statistics relevant to the subject now under discussion. Smaller tables containing the proportionate figures will, as usual, be given in the margin.

141. The Nature and Scope of Enquiry.—Owing to the peculiar and important nature of the investigations to be made, the query into the degree of fertility of the women of the State was carried out independently of the population Census. It was originally prompted by discussions on Census matters with Mr. Mukerjea, Census Commissioner, Baroda State, on his visit to Bhavnagar. Later on, when the necessary arrangements to carry out this work on the lines of the Baroda State were in progress, directions in this behalf were also received from the Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations, Bombay Presidency, in deference to the desire of the Government of India. The enquiry aims at ascertaining the relative degree of fertility of the various strata of society and other allied matters. The delicate nature of some of the questions made it imperative that the duty of filling in the special fertility schedules should be entrusted to a selected band of intelligent workers, and that the ordinary Census machinery should not be availed of for this purpose. Such female agency as women teachers and nurses was better adapted to collect the fertility returns; and it must be said to their credit that those engaged in the work rendered all possible help. The information was to be obtained for married women only, special attention of the workers being invited to the desirability of gathering the data required for all the classes of people. The questions were to be put in such a tactful manner as not to offend the enumerated. Despite the novelty of this experiment, no difficulty was experienced in enlisting the necessary co-operation of the people.

142. The Sex Tables.—The material that was gathered through the fertility schedules enabled the Abstraction Office to compile the five tables mentioned in the marginal statement. As the specimen schedule received from the Provincial Superintendent omitted the querry relating to the occupation of the husband, two of the final Sex Tables could not be compiled. In all 6,137 schedules were received and embraced all the sections of society. But what is more important in an enquiry of this kind is the correctness and completeness of the information returned; and to ensure this as many as 524 schedules had to be rejected as being incomplete. The Tables furnish the results of 5,613 schedules divided into two categories, *viz.*, (*i*) those in which the fertility had terminated, *i.e.*, where the wife had attained 45 years, and (*ii*) those in which it was still a continuing factor. 742 cases of the first and 4,871 of the second type have been examined. There was thus sufficient material at our command to estimate the general fertility of the females of the

SEX TABLES		
Number	Name	Compiled from
I	Sex of the First Born	Completed marriages
IV	Size of the families by caste or religion of husband	"
V	Average size of family correlated with age of wife at marriage	"
VI	Duration of marriage correlated with caste or religion of family	Completed and continuing marriages
VII	Proportion of fertile and sterile marriages	Continuing marriages

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State and the rate of survival among the children born to them, though it cannot be said to be large enough to arrive at any detailed conclusions. Only the broadest and most general inferences which the nature and range of the data permit will, therefore, be drawn. It is with this view in mind as also with the intention of inducing this very valuable enquiry on a larger and wider scale in future that this part is mainly written, and the Sex Tables compiled.

143. Sex of the First Born.—The tendency towards masculinity of birth has been already referred to in Part I. Statistical evidence from an examination of 742 samples of completed fertility as given by the Sex Table I also corroborates this statement. The proportion of females first born per 1,000 males first born is found to be 612. The great disparity between the crude sex ratio (945) as calculated from the censused population, and the birth sex ratio (884) as revealed by the vital statistics as compared to that (612) found from the fertility schedules is due to the insufficiency of the material at our command. Nevertheless, it does not fail to afford a clear proof of the masculinity of the sex ratio at birth which is now universally acknowledged to control the fertility of all the countries of the world. The marginal statistics obtained from the records of the Gopnathji Maternity Hospital will be interesting. Out of a total number of 1,433 children born in that Hospital during the last four years, 741 were males and 692 females. The female ratio is found to be 906 to 1,000 males born.

Hospital	Year	Males	Females
Gopnathji Maternity Hospital	1927-28	205	160
	1928-29	181	151
	1929-30	144	147
	1930-31	211	234
		741	692

144. Relative Fecundity by Caste and Religion.—Sex Table IV compiled from completed fertility schedules supplies the figures for the average number of children born to a completed marriage. The statistics for the main representative caste groups are reproduced in the margin along with the proportion of children of both the sexes to 100 married females between the ages of 14 and 43 from Subsidiary Table VII of Chapter IV. Both the sets of figures point to a very close resemblance. The higher the average strength of a family, the greater is the ratio of children to females of child-bearing ages. Among the Hindus, the fertility or the birth-rate is the highest (8·5) amongst the Vaghris, while amongst the warrior class which comprises the Kathis and Rajputs, it is the lowest (5·3). If like masculinity, fertility is also a racial factor, then these two typical groups representing the aborigines and the early invaders of India both of whom may be regarded to have continued purer than any of the remaining representative groups testify to their differential birth-rate and fecundity. On the other hand, among the Muslims the greater fertility of the local converts as compared to that of the Sipais of the foreign strain has already been considered in the last preceding Chapter.

Caste	Average per Family	Proportion of children of both sexes to 100 married Women aged 14-43
Hindu		
Brahmans ...	6·9	203
Vania (Hindu) ...	7·5	214
Vania (Jain) ...	7·3	
Kanbi ...	6·9	197
Koli ...	6·3	227
Vaghri ...	8·5	
Bharwad ...	6·6	195
Dhed ...	6·5	238
Kathi ...	5·5	190
Rajput ...	5·3	
Muslim		
Khoja ...	7·5	236
Sipai ...	5·3	198

145. Duration of Marriage correlated to the size of the Family.—Sex Table VII containing the relevant statistics has been compiled from the com-

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pleted and continuing fertility schedules. The necessary figures are, however, summarised in the margin. The duration of marriage with the present wife is shown in year groups. The averages in the last column of the marginal table will equally apply to the mean duration of each of them. Fertility, as represented by the average number of children born alive, is gradually on the increase and declines only after the 26th year of married life is reached. The marriages in this country are for the most part celebrated early in life. And if the climatic and other environmental considerations which hasten up consummation be taken into account, it is seen that the latter generally takes place during the fifteenth or sixteenth year after birth. So in the majority of cases, the decline in fertility will begin to appear generally from the fortieth year. This may also be deemed borne out by the fact that menopause in this country occurs at about the forty-fifth year, *i.e.*, five years after the decline has commenced.

Duration of present marriage in years	Number of marriages	Average number of children born alive per 100 marriages
Under 10 years ...	1,316	105
10 Years ...	294	317
Between 10 and 19 years	1,812	460
Between 20 and 33 years	1,828	655
33 years and Over ...	343	678

146. Effects of Size of Family and Age at Marriage on the Ratio of Survival.—The table on the margin is very instructive. It shows that there is some inverse correlation between the size of family and the ratio of survival. Castes like the Rajput and Sutar whose averages are found to be the lowest (5·3 and 5·4) possess the highest ratios of survival. On the other hand, the Rabaris, Khojas, and Brahmans with larger families have got a lower rate of survival among the children born to them. The exception to this rule is to be noticed in the case of Vaghris and Kolis, who owing to their aboriginal descent seem to show both larger families and higher survival ratios. But the higher survival ratio of the Vanias despite their larger families is due to their better economic condition enabling them to rear their children in comparative ease and comfort which are also the factors favouring a lower death-rate.

Caste	Average per Family	Proportion of surviving to 1,000 children born
Vaghri ...	8·5	691
Rabari ...	8·3	621
Khoja ...	7·5	610
Vania (Hindu) ...	7·5	682
Vania (Jain) ...	7·3	656
Brahman ...	6·9	632
Kanbi ...	6·9	689
Dhed ...	6·5	675
Koli ...	6·3	745
Sutar ...	5·4	679
Rajput ...	5·3	698

The averages quoted in the margin from Sex Table V which has been compiled from the cases of completed fertility point out the correlation between the age of wife at marriage and the rate of survival. The average number of children born to a wife who has completed 45 years comes to 6·6 of which 4·3 survive. Most of the marriages in the State take place at the age of 14 or less. Though fertility or birth-rate appears to suffer a slight decline owing to the postponement of the age at marriage, the survival rate tends to rise as a result of increasing vitality and health of young mothers owing to the abandonment of early marriages. It is seen that the rate of survival among the children born to a wife whose age at marriage is 15-25 is higher than that among those born to a wife married between the ages of 13 and 15. The beneficial results of the postponement of marriageable age will be also perceived in the reduction in the number of deaths from pregnancy as also in the improvement of the future progeny. The survival

Age of wife at marriage	Average number of children born	Average number of children surviving
All Ages ...	*6·6*	*4·3*
13-15 ...	6·9	4·3
15-20 ...	6·5	4·5
20-25 ...	6·8	4·4
25-30 ...	6·6	3·5
30 and over ...	5·1	3·1

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rate seems to be somewhat lower than what it would be expected to have been in the case of marriages contracted after the twenty-fifth year. But this may be due to the insufficiency of the samples scrutinized.

147. Proportion of Fertile and Sterile Marriages.—The table on the margin shows the proportion of fertile and sterile marriages and correlates them with the ages of wife at marriage and the duration of married life. It has been prepared from Sex Table VI compiled from the cases of continuing fertility. It is seen that fertility is far greater than sterility. 39 per cent. of the marriages at all ages turn out to be sterile during the first five years of their contraction. In those cases where the wife's age at marriage is either 13 or 14, the proportion of sterility during the first quinquennium after marriage is as high as 50 per cent., but in the case of late marriages, it is much less. This is due to the fact that consummation does not take place until the ripe age of 16 has been reached. Sterility continues to decline upto the twenty-fifth year, after which the effects of very long postponement appear to show themselves in slightly reduced fertility. It must also be noted that with the increase in the duration of married life, there is also a corresponding decrease in sterility which is very very slight in the case of marriages which have lasted more than 5 years.

Age of Wife at Marriage	Proportion of Sterile marriages to 100 fertile with marriage lasting			
	0–4 Years	5–9 Years	10–14 Years	15 and over
All Ages ...	*39*	*3*	*1*	*2*
13–14 ...	50	3	2	1
15–19 ...	33	3	1	2
20–24 ...	25	7	...	2
25–30 ...	50	11	5	2

148. Conclusion.—While concluding this interesting discussion, stress is once again laid upon the fact that the material gathered being not sufficiently large, it has not been possible to go deeper into the matter and make a still more detailed study of this vitally important subject. Only those broad conclusions which could be arrived at after a careful consideration of the statistics, have been drawn. The domains of doubt and ambiguity have been scrupulously avoided. And where the data have not been large enough to warrant an inference we have felt no hesitation in saying so. It is hoped that a more comprehensive enquiry will enable the future Superintendent to cover a more extensive ground and go deeper into his investigations.

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SEX TABLES

TABLE I

Sex of the First Born

Number of females First Born	Number of Males First Born	Number of females First Born per 1,000 Males First Born	Number of slips examined
274	448	612	722

TABLE IV

Size of Families by Caste or Religion of Family

CASTE OR RELIGION	Number of Families examined	Total number of children born	Average per family	Number of children surviving	Proportion of surviving to thousand born	Number of families with wife married at			
						13–14	15–19	20–29	30 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total ...	**742**	**4,910**	**6·6**	**3,234**	**659**	**175**	**389**	**160**	**18**
Hindu and Jain									
Bhangi ...	6	36	6·0	20	556	1	2	3	...
Bharwad ...	18	119	6·6	82	689	4	8	6	...
Brahman ...	106	733	6·9	463	632	38	60	6	2
Darji ...	20	134	6·7	92	687	3	12	4	1
Dhed ...	25	163	6·5	110	675	...	15	10	...
Hajam ...	11	78	7·1	52	667	1	6	3	1
Kanbi ...	97	673	6·9	464	689	17	51	28	1
Kathi ...	13	72	5·5	41	569	4	3	6	...
Koli ...	83	522	6·3	389	745	15	41	22	5
Kumbhar ...	43	240	5·6	136	567	5	21	15	2
Luhar ...	24	143	6·0	84	587	7	12	4	1
Mochi ...	8	51	6·4	34	667	...	4	4	...
Rabari ...	7	58	8·3	36	621	...	3	3	1
Rajput ...	18	96	5·3	67	698	2	10	6	...
Soni ...	2	13	6·5	9	692	1	1	...	...
Sutar ...	20	109	5·4	74	679	7	8	3	2
Vaghri ...	11	94	8·5	65	691	1	6	4	...
Vania (Hindu) ...	61	459	7·5	313	682	24	32	5	...
Vania (Jain) ...	31	227	7·3	149	656	12	18	1	...
Hindu (others) ...	66	438	6·6	281	641	15	39	12	...
Musalman									
Khoja ...	14	105	7·5	64	610	2	9	3	...
Memon ...	12	73	6·1	59	808	6	5	...	1
Sipai ...	16	85	5·3	45	529	5	7	4	...
Vohora ...	5	42	8·4	29	690	1	2	1	1
Musalman (others)	22	130	6·0	69	531	4	12	6	...
Parsi									
Parsi ...	3	17	5·7	7	412	...	2	1	...

TABLE V

Average Size of Family correlated with Age of Wife at Marriage

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE	Number of families	Number of children born	Average observed	Number of children surviving	Average observed
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	**742**	**4,910**	**6·6**	**3,234**	**4·3**
13	132	905	6·9	572	4·3
14	43	299	7·0	187	4·3
15–19	389	2,531	6·5	1,745	4·5
20–24	128	871	6·8	562	4·4
25–29	32	212	6·6	113	3·5
30 and over	18	92	5·1	55	3·1

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TABLE VI

PROPORTION OF FERTILE AND STERILE MARRIAGES

Age of Wife at Marriage	Duration of Marriage Years							
	0-4		5-9		10-14		15 and over	
	Fertile	Sterile	Fertile	Sterile	Fertile	Sterile	Fertile	Sterile
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total ...	**213**	**84**	**986**	**33**	**1,167**	**17**	**3,066**	**47**
13-14	86	43	577	20	519	9	1,177	16
15-19	111	37	356	9	548	6	1,570	25
20-24	12	3	44	3	75	...	252	4
25-29	2	1	9	1	20	1	48	1
30 and over	2	...	...	...	5	1	19	1

TABLE VII

DURATION OF MARRIAGE CORRELATED WITH CASTE OR RELIGION OF FAMILY

Caste or Religion of Husband	Duration of Marriage with Present Wife																	
	Under 10 years			10 years			10-19			20-31			32			33 and over		
	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Children	Average number of Children
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Total	**1,316**	**2,561**	**1·9**	**294**	**931**	**3·2**	**1,812**	**8,338**	**4·6**	**1,755**	**11,481**	**6·5**	**73**	**491**	**6·7**	**343**	**2·327**	**6·8**
Ahir, Bharwad and Rabari ...	42	85	2·0	17	54	3·2	53	230	4·3	84	499	5·9	3	27	9·0	11	83	7·5
Brahman ...	206	401	1·9	34	88	2·6	283	1,256	4·4	224	1,419	6·3	9	70	7·8	62	458	7·4
Kanbi ...	147	303	2·1	41	143	3·5	200	959	4·8	234	1,538	6·6	8	42	5·3	37	278	7·5
Kathi ...	15	28	1·9	2	5	2·5	15	60	4·0	20	111	5·6	1	5	5·0	4	26	6·5
Koli	94	185	2·0	25	103	4·1	125	585	4·7	189	1,203	6·4	8	53	6·6	33	186	5·6
Rajput ...	59	104	1·8	11	37	3·4	79	355	4·5	64	370	5·8	1	3	3·0	5	33	6·6
Vania ...	138	212	1·5	29	88	3·0	170	772	4·5	140	944	6·7	7	59	8·4	30	210	7·0
Vankar, (Dhed, Chamar and Bhangi) ...	31	61	2·0	14	42	3·0	77	388	5·0	79	507	6·4	3	19	6·3	4	19	4·8
Hindu (others) ...	381	770	2·0	78	236	3·0	472	2,187	4·6	428	2,894	6·8	21	125	5·9	90	578	6·4
Jain	107	211	2·0	17	58	3·4	172	796	4·6	147	1,026	7·0	7	53	7·6	22	171	7·8
Musalman ...	92	188	2·0	26	77	3·0	160	720	4·5	143	950	6·6	5	35	7·0	43	272	6·3
Parsi ...	2	5	2·5	...	...	...	6	30	5·0	1	4	4·0	...	...	...	2	13	6·5
Christian ...	2	3	1·5	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	16	8·0	...	...	...	...	...	...

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CHAPTER VI

CIVIL CONDITION

SECTION I—ANALYSIS OF FIGURES FOR THE GENERAL POPULATION AND MAIN RELIGIONS

149. The Basis of the Figures.—Indian Census recognises three states of Civil Condition, *viz.*, married, unmarried, and widowed. Divorce is not recognised as a distinct state of civil condition, and no separate return was to be made for it. The instructions to the enumerator printed on the enumeration book cover were:—

"Column 6 (Married, etc.)—Enter each person whether infant, child, or grown up, as either married, unmarried or widowed. Divorced persons who have not remarried, should be entered as widowed."

But the Census Code further instructed:—

"A woman who has never been married must be shown in column 6 as unmarried, even though she be a prostitute or concubine, but persons who are recognised by custom as married are to be entered as such, even though they have not gone through the proper ceremony, *e.g.* widows who have taken a second husband by the rite variously known as pat, gandharwa, nika, etc., or persons living together whose religious or social tenets enjoin or allow co-habitation without preliminary formalities."

Nor was this enough. A detailed circular issued to the workers explained at sufficient length what was meant by each state of civil condition. The instructions were clear and unambiguous and left no room for misunderstanding on the part of the enumerator. There will have been, however, a few cases of some kept women attempting to pass off as married, though really unmarried. But they are very rare and do not materially affect the statistics of civil condition. While estimating the effects, if any, of the Child and Old Age Marriages Prevention Act of 1930 on the returns of marriage, it might at once be stated that there was hardly any falsification of the returns on the ground of early marriages. Any influence that the legislation might have on the figures, would be on the returns of age rather than on those of marriage, which it is every reason to believe, were on the whole correctly made. For, the people would fall upon the more handy device of falsifying the ages of those married against the provisions of the Act rather than give out a married person as unmarried. But even this contingency should be ruled out of court, when it is borne in mind that most of the early marriages could be effected during the marriage season which passed before the Act came into force. The provision allowing the future celebration of marriages in the case of betrothals registered before the Vahivatdar within one month of the Act would also negative any such tendency. Barring a few conscious and unconscious errors, marriage statistics are on the whole correctly returned in this State.

150. Meaning of Marriage.—Marriage, among the Hindus as also among the Jains who abide by the Hindu Law in regulating this most important event of life, is a sacrament and not a contract as among the Mahomedans. It enjoins duties and responsibilities which the wedded parties owe to themselves and to society. In the three higher castes, the marriage is irrevokable, but among the lower castes its dissolution is permitted by custom under certain circumstances. The marriage or *lagna* which means a union, is a union for life, and the separation which takes place only on death is physical but not spiritual.

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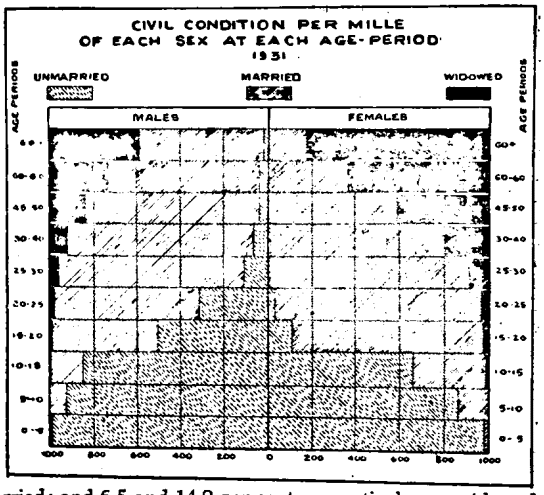
In all communities, eastern or western, marriage is usually preceded by engagement. The Hindus and the Jains call it *vevisal*, and the marriage proper is termed *vivaha*. In Gujarat, the latter term connotes engagement and not the former as is the case in Kathiawar. The engagement is as solemn as marriage and is not terminated except under exceptional circumstances. The seal is put upon the future marriage as a *fait accompli* when the fathers-in-law on both the sides announce publicly the engagement of the prospective bride and bridegroom in the presence of their relatives and caste people. The engaged are young, and hardly count in these dealings. It is an affair which concerns their parents, and even the grown-up boys and girls are rarely consulted before a match is struck. Any consultation, where it occurs, has for its object the ratification of what out of their great love, the parents have done for their children. But a large number of marriages is child marriages and differs from those in other countries in that they are not immediately followed by cohabitation. The statistics of civil condition should, therefore, be considered with due regard for this phase of married life. In this connection, it will be useful to refer to the custom of sending the married daughter to her father-in-law's house for the first time with *anu, i.e.*, with presents of clothes and ornaments some years after marriage, when the husband with a few selected relatives is invited to formally take her away. It is at this time that the cohabitation may be regarded to take place. In those communities like the Kanbis, Rabaris, and Bharwads, where infant and child marriages are general, this ceremony takes place ten to twelve years after marriage, and sometimes even after a longer period.

151. Main Statistics.—The statistics of civil condition by Age and Sex for the population of the State in general and each main religion in particular are contained in Imperial Table VII. Part A of the Table relates to the State as a whole, and Part B to the City of Bhavnagar. In Imperial Table VIII are given similar figures for selected castes at certain age periods.

152. General Features of the Statistics.—The universality of marriage, greater proportion of the unmarried belonging to the child and adolescent population, and large proportion of widows are the three main features of civil condition in the State which the marginal diagram clearly illustrates.



(i) *The Universality of Marriage.*—In the total population of the State of all ages and religions 48·9 per cent. or nearly half the males and 37 per cent. or nearly two-fifth of the females are unmarried; 44·6 per cent. of the males and 48 per cent. of the females are married; and 6·5 and 14·9 per cent. respectively are widowed. In vivid contrast to these are the figures of England and Wales as returned by the Census of 1921, which show 55 per cent. of the males and 53 of the females as single, 41 and 38 per cent. of the males and females as married, and only 3·6 and 8·2 per cent. respectively of males and females as widowed and divorced. Analysing the State figures by age, it is noticed that as many as 87 per cent. of the unmarried of both the sexes are under 15 years of age. The proportions of the

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bachelors and spinsters aged over 15 years are 10 and 3·6 per cent. respectively of the total unmarried of each sex. And of the unmarried over the age of 30, only 3,466 are males and 249 females. This fact proves the popular adage that a man may die unmarried but never a woman. Practically, the whole of the adolescent and adult population is married. The universality of marriage is thus the striking feature of the statistics of civil condition. Only those who suffer from some sort of physical infirmity, or observe life-long celibacy as recluse, or are not fortunate enough to possess requisite social status which alone enables a man in a hypergamous caste to marry, remain unmarried. All the rest, whether fit or unfit, rich or poor, strong or weak must and do marry. For, in the eyes of society a man who remains a bachelor at a later age suffers in status and respectability. Only those who cannot manage to get a wife by some means or others are obliged to remain unmarried.

Marriage is not universal in India alone. It is the normal feature of every society. And so it is not the universality of marriage but the artificial, social and economic conditions brought into being by the materialistic civilization of the West that should be deemed unusual as imposing unnatural and self-created barriers in the way of giving vent to the more natural and healthy instinct of every human being to be united into wedlock. Marriage is indispensable and inevitable for the harmonious progress of man and society. Any artificial suppression of this most legitimate desire cannot but lead to very grave and serious consequences to humanity. But in this country, particularly where religion governs and controls all individual as well as social actions, marriage has become a sort of a sacred duty. It is incumbent upon every man to marry and procreate, if he is to do his duty by his forefathers and save them from perdition. An unmarried girl who is past pubescence is the object of social ignominy and divine wrath to her parents. These Shastric injunctions made the institution of marriage a part and parcel of the Hindu religion and contributed to its universality by making it obligatory upon every person to marry, and perpetuate the ancestral family. It thus received the fullest support from Hinduism which later on became responsible for the introduction and continuance into Hindu society of the twin social evils of child marriage and child widows.

(*ii*) *Child Marriage.*—Infant and child marriages are the second feature of married life in the State. Nearly 8 per cent. of the males and 15 per cent. of the females below the age of 15 are married, as opposed to not a single soul married below that age in England and Wales in 1921. While the proportion of males and females married and widowed between the ages of 0-5 is 1·4 and 1·7 per cent., that of males and females under 10 is 3·3 and 7·3 per cent. respectively. While in the age group 15-20, 50 per cent. of males and 53 per cent. of females are married and widowed, in the age group 20-30 the proportion rises to 74·6 and 92·5 per cent. respectively. Over the age of 30 years one in 24 is a bachelor and one in 316 is a spinster.

The early age at which marriages take place is not a feature peculiar to Indian conditions alone. The custom is in vogue in many other communities also. But this feature attracts especial notice when it is considered that no educated and civilized community practises it. It is a legacy of the past, and as such early marriages are held in high esteem in certain communities. For, those persons whose sons have the good fortune of being betrothed in the cradle, are endowed with superior social status in the eyes of their caste brethren. The majority of the people who are uneducated have never felt the dangers inherent in such a disgenic custom as they regard it as a matter of course—a religious duty—the greatest good that it offers to them being the addition to the family of a daughter-in-law whom the mother-in-law can boss over into drudging day and night, and relieve herself of the burden of household work.

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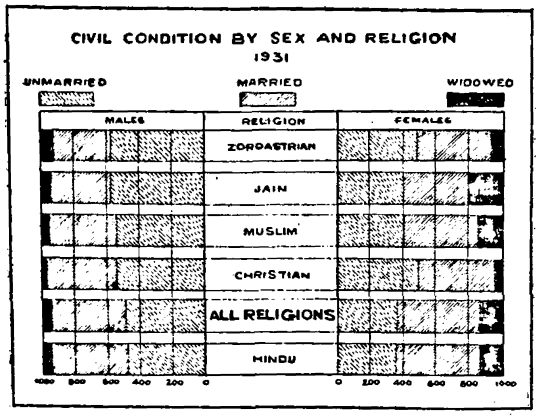
(*iii*) *The Widowed.*—The third main feature of the statistics of marital condition is the large proportion of widows. The state of widowhood is an inevitable result of marriage in all societies. None is without it. It is only in their relatively greater proportion that the Indian figures are exceptional. In the population of the State of all ages and religions, 6·5 per cent. of males and nearly 15 per cent. of females are widowed. The corresponding figures for England and Wales at the Census of 1921 were 3·6 and 8·2 per cent. of the males and females respectively. While in England and Wales no person below the age of 15 years is widowed or divorced, in the State the widows exist even in the age-group 0-5 which counts 13 females as against 60 and 118 respectively between the ages of 5 and 10 and 10 and 15,

The comparatively large proportion of widows is due to the custom of child and old age marriages, accompanied by enforced widowhood strictly enjoined by the Hindu Shastras. This age-long custom owes its origin and advocacy to that supreme ideal of love which Hinduism held up to its adherents—the ideal of purest and unsullied love for and devotion to the husband. It was not a bodily union, but a spiritual union of two souls which once wedded, were wedded for all time to come. It, therefore, precluded the idea of any physical union of the widow after the death of her husband. Remarriage was, therefore, impossible. This prejudice against remarriage is shared even by the Jains and Mahomedans, and to some extent by the Parsis, all of whom suffer under no such religious disability as the Hindus. Amongst them widow-remarriage is theoretically allowed; but in actual practice, the Jains and some of the Muslim castes of the State surpass even the Hindus in showing the true zeal of a convert. For, while among the Hindus, nearly all the lower castes allow their widows to marry, the prohibition amongst the Jains is universal. Some of the Muslim castes like the Saiyads and Sipais extend the prohibition even to their child widows which is not the case with the rest of their co-religionists.

153. Variation by Religion.—The three main features considered before, do not persist to the same extent in all the main religions; neither do they show themselves in the case of all of them. The variation in civil condition by religion is caused by the difference in the custom of marriage based upon religious and other considerations. Subsidiary Table III at the end of the Chapter gives the detailed proportional figures of distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion and main age period at each of the last three Censuses. But some of the necessary statistics reproduced below supply the data for the marginal diagram which illustrates the distribution of 1,000 of each sex in each main religion by civil condition.



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CIVIL CONDITION BY RELIGION AND SEX

DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AND RELIGION AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES

Religion	Unmarried			Married			Widowed		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
MALES									
State ...	489	499	459	446	421	476	65	80	65
Hindu ...	479	493	449	454	425	485	67	82	66
Muslim ...	539	523	503	407	405	438	54	72	59
Jain ...	570	560	545	367	366	392	63	74	63
Zoroastrian ...	574	552	533	343	420	437	83	28	30
Christian ...	538	465	510	425	495	469	37	40	21
FEMALES									
State ...	371	381	334	480	455	510	149	164	156
Hindu ...	365	379	329	489	459	518	146	162	153
Muslim ...	407	389	364	435	449	483	158	162	153
Jain ...	405	395	365	399	390	429	196	215	206
Zoroastrian ...	486	461	527	436	454	423	78	85	50
Christian ...	496	391	526	453	547	449	51	62	25

Hindu.—In the matter of civil condition, the Hindus who contribute 87 per cent. of the State population appear to put their stamp on the figures of the general population. All the three characteristics which mark the civil condition of the State, feature more prominently in the Hindu population, every thousand of whose male population is composed of 479 unmarried, 454 married and 67 widowed as compared to 365 unmarried, 489 married and 146 widowed of the female. Among the males, there are 10 fewer unmarried, 8 more married, and 2 more widowed, while among the females, there are 6 fewer unmarried, 9 more married and 3 more widowed in every thousand than in the general population. The smallest proportion of the unmarried amongst the Hindus is shown by the statistics inserted in the margin which supplies the proportions of unmarried per mille of each sex in the age groups 0-5 and 5-10. The greater prevalence of infant and child marriages among them than among the followers of any other religion is at once apparent on the face of the table. As against 4·3 and 2 per cent. of the Muslim and Jain females married between the ages of 5 and 10, there are as many as 15·9 per cent. of their Hindu sisters married in the same age group. At the age period 10-15, 36 per cent. of the Hindu females are married as compared to 18 and 14 per cent. respectively in the case of Muslims and Jains. No Parsi or Christian female below 15 years is married. The Hindu wives are observed to begin their married life earlier than the rest of the population.

RELIGION	Proportion of unmarried per mille			
	Males		Females	
	0-5	5-10	0-5	5-10
All Religions ...	986	925	983	858
Hindu ...	984	916	981	841
Muslim ...	995	980	997	957
Jain ...	997	989	997	980
Zoroastrian ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Christian ...	1,000	917	1,000	1,000

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Muslim.—Among the followers of Islam, 54, 41 and 5 per cent. of males, and 41, 43 and 16 per cent. of females are respectively unmarried, married, and widowed. The proportions of their married and unmarried differ slightly from those of the Hindus, and the general population. While the Muslim males show 5 per cent. more unmarried and 4 per cent. fewer married, their females show nearly 4 per cent. more unmarried and 5·5 per cent. fewer married than the general figures. The relatively greater proportion of the unmarried and smaller proportion of the married females than that of the Hindus is due to the comparatively late age at which marriage takes place among the Mahomedans. In every thousand of Muslim girls below 5 years, there are only 3 married as against 19 of the Hindus. But that their age at marriage is lower than that of the Jains will be seen from the proportion of their married females below the age of 15 years being 13 per cent. as against only 5·6 per cent. of the Jains. But as regards their widowed condition, the Muslims do not seem to fare better than the Hindus. As compared to the general population, there are in every 1,000 of each sex 11 fewer widowers, but 9 more widows. The advantage of widow-remarriage appears to be all on the side of males. For in every 1,000 males, there are 13 fewer widowers than those among the Hindus and 9 fewer than those among the Jains. But the widows though less by 38 than in the case of the Jains are more by 12 per mille than in the case of the Hindus. This is due to the fact that among the Hindus, only the three higher or Dwija castes do not practise the remarriage of widows. The rest of the Hindu community allows its widows to marry. It is a well-known fact that the Musalmans of the State share the prejudice of the Hindus and Jains against widow-remarriage. The prejudice is carried to such an extent by the Saiyads and Sipais that they enforce compulsory widowhood even on the part of their child widows. As amongst the Hindus compulsory widowhood has become an insignia of superior social status, and so among the two last mentioned Muslim castes, remarriage by a widow is looked down upon with contempt by the members of their community; *ghar-gilli* or a widow who has remarried has thus come to be used as a term of abuse. But among the rest of the Muslim sections, the prejudice against remarriage does not extend to child and young widows, who can very freely marry again, though the older widows would find it somewhat difficult to do so. The truth would rather seem to be that the widows deliberately avoid remarrying after the age of 30 and in some cases even earlier.

Jain.—Of all the three main religions, the Jains should be regarded to be better situated as regards their civil condition and more particularly as regards their unmarried and married population. Barring the Parsis who differ greatly from the rest as regards their custom of marriage, the Jain males have got the highest proportion of the unmarried. The proportions per mille of males who are unmarried, married and widowed are 570, 367 and 63 respectively. But the corresponding proportions for females are 405, 399 and 196 respectively. As will be seen from the foregoing statement, the distribution by civil condition of the Jain females varies considerably from that of the females of the general population. While the proportion of married males exceeds that of the males in the general population by 8 per cent., that of the females exceeds only by 3 per cent. This shows that the postponement of age at marriage operates to a greater degree in the case of males than in that of females. Amongst their married males one in 76 is below 15 years, the corresponding proportions amongst Hindus and Muslims being 13 and 41 respectively. Amongst their married females one in 19 is below 15 years, the corresponding proportions amongst Hindus and Muslims being 7 and 16. But the proportion of widows is higher among the Jains than that among the Hindus or Muslims. In one thousand males the Jains have got 4 fewer and 9 more widowers than the Hindus and Muslims respectively. But in their females of the same number there are 50 and 38 more widows than those among the Hindus and Muslims. The largest proportion of widows is a very striking feature about the statistics of the civil condition of the Jains, which is explained by the most unadulterated form of compulsory widowhood practised by them. Every Jain widow in the State is debarred from remarrying, but that is not the case either with the Muslims or with the Hindus. For, not only the Muslims but the lower castes among the Hindus permit their widows to remarry. Only the aged few do not do

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so. But the Jains know no exception to the rule of enforced widowhood. Hence the comparatively large percentage of widows among them. But as will be considered further, the proportion is not higher but smaller than that of the widows of the upper Hindu castes.

Parsi.—The Parsi proportions show a higher ratio for the unmarried and a smaller one for their widowed. No Parsi of either sex below the age of 15 years is either married or widowed, as marriage takes place after reaching the age of puberty. Of every 100 of their males, 58, 34 and 8 respectively are unmarried, married and widowed. The corresponding female proportions are 49, 43 and 8 respectively. While the smaller proportion of their widows is due to the very late age at which their females marry, the greater proportion of their widowers is accounted for by the absence of the disparate old age marriages which are common amongst the Hindus, Muslims and Jains.

Christian.—The Christian figures represent the combined proportions of both the Europeans and Indian Christians. The latter are local converts and retain their former custom of early marriage. Of a hundred Christian males, 54 are unmarried, 42 married and 4 widowed. Similar proportions for the females are 50, 45 and 5 respectively. Like the Parsis, no female below 15 years is married. But among the females 8 and 9 per cent. respectively of those in the age-periods 5-10 and 10-15 are married. It is here that the influence of the Indian Christians who are recruited from the lower strata of Hindu society becomes noticeable.

154. **Comparison with previous Censuses.**—The statement in the preceding para which compares the statistics of civil condition by sex and religion for the last three Censuses is instructive. Amongst the males of all ages and religions, as against 489 per mille that are unmarried in 1931, there are 499 in 1921 and 459 in 1911. The proportions of the females unmarried at each Census from 1911 to 1931 are 334, 381 and 371 respectively. The proportion of the unmarried of both the sexes is higher in 1921 and 1931 than in 1911, and in 1921 than in 1931. Inversely, the proportion of the married of both the sexes is higher in 1911 than in 1921 and 1931, but smaller in 1921 than in 1931. As regards the widowed, the proportion of widowers is the same to-day as twenty years ago, but larger in 1921 than at either of the two remaining Censuses. But the proportion of widows is the highest in 1921, and smaller in 1931 than in 1911. The variations in civil condition noticed above are the resultant of various factors operating during the decade preceding each of the three Censuses. Taking the two decades 1901–1911 and 1921–1931 to be on the whole normal, the greater proportion of the unmarried during the latter may, apart from other considerations to be reviewed below, be fairly attributed to the postponement of the age at marriage. But the same explanation should not be taken to apply to the smaller proportion of the married at the end of the abnormal decennium 1911–21 which suffered from plague and influenza epidemics. The decrease in the proportion of the married is due to the two-fold effect of influenza which increased the proportion of widows by the death of their husbands, as also by reducing their proportion in the married state owing to the relatively higher death-rate among them than among the males. In India economic considerations hardly operate to any appreciable extent in the postponement of marriage. Money can be readier found and debts more easily contracted for celebrating matrimonial festivities. But the effect of high prices must not be discounted in postponing at least such of the marriages in the earlier age periods as could be put off for a year or two. All these factors—natural and economic—combined conspired to reduce the proportions of the married and increase those of the unmarried and the widowed. The ratio of widowers increased in a greater proportion than that of the widows owing to the greater selection by influenza of females than males. Added to these were also the effects upon these decennial variations in civil condition of the periodical changes in the age constitution of the population which decreased the proportions of persons of reproductive ages in 1921.

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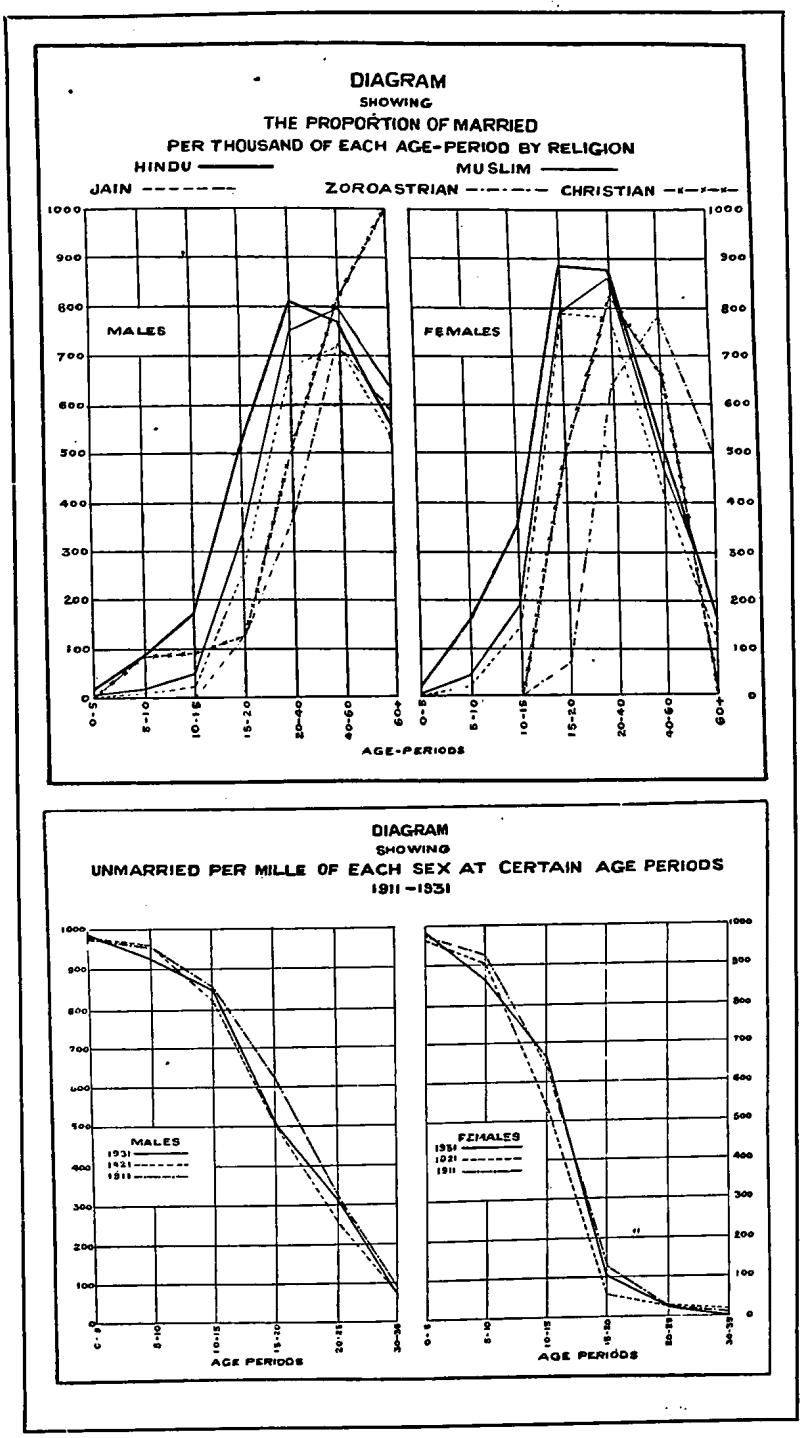

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SECTION II—EARLY MARRIAGES AND POSTPONEMENT OF AGE AT MARRIAGE

155. Early Marriage.—The greater prevalence of early marriages has been observed while discussing the main features of the statistics of civil condition. A detailed examination of the figures by age periods shows very interesting comparisons. The marginal statement supplies the proportions per mille of each sex that were unmarried at each of the last three Censuses. In the general population 14 boys and 17 girls per mille are married in the age-group 0-5, while in the age group 5-10 their proportions are 75 and 142 respectively. The proportion of married girls is higher than that of the boys. The number per mille marrying early is smaller in the case of the Mahomedans than in that of the Hindus, and smaller still in the case of the Jains than in that of the former. This illustrates the respective attitude of these communities towards early marriages as also the extent to which they favour the postponement of age at marriage, both of which are clearly depicted in the upper diagram on the opposite page.

AGE GROUPS	Proportion of the unmarried per 1,000					
	Males			Females		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
0-5	979	983	986	975	963	983
5-10	950	952	925	926	901	858
10-15	854	819	845	639	540	668
15-20	615	500	503	131	55	105
20-25	325	255	312	23	24	24
30-35	86	72	73	11	19	5
All Ages	*459*	*499*	*489*	*334*	*387*	*377*

Comparing the proportions since 1911, and referring to the lower diagram on the opposite page in which they are plotted separately for both the sexes, a distinct tendency towards the abandonment of infant marriages and postponement of age at marriage is noticeable. After a lapse of 20 years, there are 7 fewer male and 8 fewer female infants married per thousand of each sex in the age period 0-5; and the close of the past decade has seen 3 fewer male and 20 fewer female infants married than those in 1921. But of the children between the ages of 5 and 10, there are in 1931, 27 more boys, and 43 more girls married in one thousand of each sex, as compared to the similar proportions of 1921. The comparison of the proportions of 1921 with those of 1931 in the next higher age group (10-15), however, shows 26 more boys and 128 more girls unmarried in every thousand of that age. While the proportions of the unmarried in the age-groups 0-5 and 10-15 have increased, of those in the age-group 5-10 have decreased during the past decade.

It has already been noted that the conditions obtaining during the latter quinquennium of the decade 1911–21 were exceptional as the people were fighting hard against the abnormal economic situation created by high prices and scarcity. That the effect of this factor upon the postponement of marriage was negligible, will be seen from the proportion of the married females in all the quinary age-groups from 0 to 15 being greater in 1921 than in 1911. If economic considerations had anything to do with the postponement of any of the marriages, they were of boys under 10. But so far as both the sexes between the ages of 10 and 15 are concerned, the movement appears to have worked in the opposite direction, as the proportion of marriages is higher in 1921 than either in 1911 or 1931. After a sudden drop in the proportion of the unmarried females per mille of that group from 639 in 1911 to 540 in 1921, there is an equally sudden rise to 668 in 1931. This indicates neither an unexpected momentum given to the custom of early marriage during 1911–21, nor any sudden reform in the attitude of the people towards the practice of marrying their children early during 1921–31. A comparison of the proportions of the unmarried per thousand females between the ages of 10 and 15 at the close of two normal decades 1901–11 and 1921–31 gives a clear indication of the postponement of the age at marriage. That this tendency was obscured in

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1921 will be seen from a very high percentage of marriages in the age period 10–15 in 1921 owing to the Sinhastha year, when the number of married per mille of females in that age group rose from 355 in 1911 to 448 in 1921. The corresponding male proportion increased from 143 to 173 only. The Sinhastha year which began eight months before the Census of 1921 and continued for five months after it, covered a period of thirteen months from 12th July 1920 to 11th August 1921. The Hindus postpone the performance of all auspicious ceremonies during this interval. But as the Hindu Shastras forbid the giving in marriage of a mature woman, all such girls between the ages of 10 and 12 whose marriage could not be delayed, were married before the Sinhastha period commenced. The absence of any appreciable influence of the Sinhastha upon the two lower age groups is thus of great significance. The Hindu prejudice against postponing the marriage of a girl is seen in the unequal effects produced upon the marriage proportions of both these sexes in the age period 10–15, the male proportions being not affected to the same extent as the female. For, a boy can afford to wait to marry, but a girl cannot.

The upshot of all the preceding analysis comes to this that there is a clear and unmistakable tendency on the part of the people to abandon infant and child marriages as also to postpone the age of marriage. During the past decennium, the proportions of the unmarried of both the sexes in the age groups 0–5 and 10–15 have increased, and to that extent infant and child marriages have become unpopular, and age at marriage has risen. While the number of unmarried male per mille in the age group 0–5 has increased from 983 in 1921 to 986 in 1931 that of unmarried females in that group has increased from 963 to 986 during the same period. Corresponding increases in the age-group 10–15 have been from 819 to 845 in the case of males and from 540 to 668 in that of females. Even the next higher age group 15–20 shows an appreciable increase in the number of unmarried females which rose from 55 in 1921 to 105 in 1931. The highest proportions of the married of both sexes in the age group 5–10 at the present Census result, as will be seen further, from the social legislation which came into force in 1930. The statistics examined above, therefore, indicate an obvious change in the former attitude of the people toward the custom of infant and early marriages. The society is to-day ranged into two sections, *viz.*, one which practises only child marriages and infant marriages are unknown to it, and another which practises infant and therefore, child marriages also. Those who practise infant marriages are abandoning them in favour of child marriages, while those who practise the latter, tend to raise the early ages at which marriage takes place among them. This will be clearly understood from the consideration of the statistics of civil condition by castes.

156. Early Marriages by Caste.—In Subsidiary Table IV are given the figures of distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for selected castes. The proportions supplied by the Table reveal some interesting features of the civil condition of some of the castes. The castes more addicted to infant marriages belong to the lower rungs of the social ladder. The higher classes appear to be singularly free from this social vice. Infant and child marriages are prevalent to a very great extent amongst such classes as the Bharwads, Rabaris, Kanbis, Kumbhars, Darjis, Dhobis, Chamars, and even the Rajputs, and amongst the Mahomedan castes like the Saiyads and Memons. But the extent is of a varying nature. There are more female infants married than the male. The marginal table reproduces the proportions of married and widowed per thousand of each sex in certain age groups. As against 15 and 23 boys married in a thousand males in the age period 0–6 among the Saiyads and Memons respectively, there is none married at that age among their girls. There are 76 Bharwad, 113 Rabari, 73 Dhobi, 43 Kanbi, 32 Darji, and 20 Rajput girls per thousand females married below six years. But amongst the Bhavasars, Saiyads, Memons, Sheikhs, Vohoras, Khojas, Kansaras, Porwad and Modh Vanias, Nagar and Shrimali Brahmans, there is no girl of that age married. Amongst the remaining Hindu and Muslim Castes, the proportion ranges from 2 to 8. The inference drawn at the outset that the infant marriages are generally prevalent.

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among the lower castes of society are thus illustrated by figures. Among the Hindus, the sub-castes of the Brahmans and Vanias, and the higher artisan classes like the Sonis and Bhavasars do not favour infant marriages. Some of the backward castes like the Kolis, Vaghris and even the Chamars and Dheds though placed lower in the social scale are not prone to celebrate infant marriages. Early marriages are also discountenanced by the Muslims and Jains as represented by Visha Shrimali Vanias. It need hardly be said that among the Parsis marriage before the age of 25 is unknown. The foregoing remarks apply equally well in the case of child marriages also, the tendency towards the postponement of age at marriage being more marked amongst the higher classes than amongst the lower who may be deemed unconscious of the necessity of doing away with child marriages. It is found that amongst the Vohoras, Kapol, Visha and Porwad Vanias, Kathis, and Nagar Brahmans marriages take place at a pretty late age. In their case it may be surmised that the general age at marriage has shifted well in the vicinity of and in many cases even over the age of 15 years.

Caste	Number per 1,000 married and widowed							
	Males				Females			
	All Ages	0-6	7-13	14-16	All Ages	0-6	7-13	14-16
Bharwad ...	632	54	356	644	726	76	575	935
Kabari ...	599	25	256	600	720	113	487	909
Sanbi ...	599	27	266	593	688	43	468	924
Kutar ...	646	12	116	351	643	10	245	869
Kumbhar ...	533	13	127	381	636	21	244	820
Darji ...	551	5	81	373	673	32	241	885
Rajput ...	529	9	97	237	656	20	204	740
Bhavsar ...	582	...	33	222	676	...	179	900
Bhangi ...	486	8	85	289	575	12	114	641
Saiyad ...	483	15	...	103	664	...	101	500
Koli ...	489	2	74	564	589	5	99	737
Brahman Modh	486	...	17	96	634	...	99	886
Dhobi ...	465	...	17	139	643	73	90	760
Sipai ...	483	2	27	101	628	3	86	664
Vaghri ...	439	4	23	164	536	8	74	685
Chamar ...	489	16	41	240	590	3	61	573
Brahman Audichya ...	456	4	17	67	641	0·7	61	752
Brahmans All ...	465	3	16	79	635	0·4	59	738
Soni ...	441	...	16	76	620	8	58	638
Memon ...	427	23	40	91	569	...	47	482
Dhed ...	443	10	35	152	549	4	42	555
Luhana ...	482	7	21	56	620	3	41	728
Sheikh ...	510	...	32	158	595	...	40	706
Vohora ...	482	...	12	49	540	...	35	324
Khoja ...	426	2	15	105	566	5	34	589
Vania Modh ...	447	...	24	80	630	...	26	635
Brahman Shrimali ...	457	10	19	104	626	...	24	719
Vania Kapol ..	432	...	4	114	636	3	23	457
Vania Dasha ...	449	9	11	20	624	3	20	507
Kathi ...	451	6	4	36	633	6	19	270
Visha Shrimali (Jain) ...	425	...	8	37	591	2	15	521
Brahman Nagar	489	...	16	105	612	...	14	511
Kansara ...	421	...	16	121	625	...	8	706
Vania Porwad...	437	...	...	37	688	...	...	923
Parsi ...	432	...	...	...	521	...	...	...

The prevalence of early marriages in the lower castes is attributed to their desire to emulate the social practices of those placed higher in the social organization. And though it is the inevitable result of the impact of two alien races, the adoption of the customs and usages of one by another depends upon the degree of contact and superiority of one culture over another. For, while the Dravidians were wholly absorbed into and became a part and parcel of Hindu society, the greater virility and moral inferiority of Islamic culture made the absorption of the Muslims within the Hindu fold practically impossible. Besides, the latter had, by the time the Mahomedans invaded India already forsaken its former elasticity and raised the embankments of caste around its system of marriage. But the contact between these two great peoples was there and with the contact its effects. The emergence of caste and practice of child marriages and compulsory widowhood amongst the Muslims are of Hindu origin. The Musalman followers of the Rajput chiefs who came over to this side from Marwar took a leaf from the social practices of their masters, and in course of time came to disallow their widows to remarry, and thereby acquire a higher social standing. It is also in this way that the prevalence of infant and child marriages amongst the Mahomedans should be accounted for. The difference in the degree of contact and in the circumstances under which it took place should be held responsible for the difference in the extent of their being affected by this process of social proselytization. As the Scythian and

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Kushan invaders came into greater touch with the Aryans than the Mahomedans with the Hindus and as the caste system had not been crystallized into water-tight compartments, the former displayed greater faculty for imitation and absorption than the latter who could preserve their separate identity.

157. Economic and Prudential Considerations.—The concensus of opinion in the West is in favour of extending the period of bachelorhood until such time as one is in a position to earn one's bread and support one's family. A man does not think of uniting himself into wedlock, so long as he is not in a position to set up an independent and separate establishment for himself and shoulder the responsibilities of a married life. A high standard of living and the maintenance of the prospective family at the same level operate in European countries as a check to matrimony. Questions as to his ability to satisfy the wants of his married partner and impart proper education to his children confront a bachelor before he contracts marriage. Inability to fulfil these primary obligations compels him to remain single and without a family. Physical debility also favours postponement. The bondage of a family and subservience to a mother-in-law often reduce the charm of married life and enhance the attractions of bachelorhood. Naturally therefore, marriage is not as universal in the West as in the East.

But the picture of Indian married life is quite different. The universality of marriage is portrayed against the background of peculiar Eastern conditions under which the plant of marriage thrives. While dealing with the effects of the exceptional economic conditions obtaining during the decade 1911–21, it has already been noticed that economic considerations hardly play any appreciable part in affecting the rate of marriage. Monetary stringency does have its influence upon the social life of the people and helps to postpone such of the marriages as could be put off for a year or two. But the institution of marriage being semi-religious, nobody would dare go against the custom of celebrating marriages before a particular age is attained. The necessary credit is always forthcoming, and early marriages being the rule, it is hardly a matter that concerns the parties to be married. It is absolutely an affair between the parents on both the sides. As in the West, it is not the question of the abilities of the wedded couple to undertake the duties and responsibilities of nuptial life, but it is the desire of the parents who long to see their children suitably matched before their eyes are closed upon this wretched world that determines the celebration of a marriage in India. The western idea that the state of conjugality should not commence before one has settled in life is as universally unknown as the idea that every man must marry and beget sons is revered. Nearly all except the physically infirm and disabled from birth marry, lifelong bachelorhood being the sole monopoly of those who have renounced the world. Economic and prudential considerations are thus powerless to have any appreciable influence upon the time-honoured custom of marriage. Their influence in raising the marriageable age, if any, is very remote and more indirect than direct.

158. Literacy and Early Marriage.—The table in the margin, shows the extent to which education counts in raising the age at marriage. The numbers of literate per thousand in some selected castes are compared with the proportions of married and widowed females in one thousand females in certain lower age groups. The Nagar Brahmans and Modh Vanias among whom literacy appears to be the highest, infant marriages are totally absent. Infant and child marriages are the greatest amongst those lower castes like the Darjis, Luhars, Kanbis, Bharwads, Rabaris and others who are highly illiterate. But this rule of inverse correlation between literacy and early marriages has some exceptions in the Kathis, Kolis and Vaghris among whom there is a relatively higher age of marriage in spite of their comparatively greater illiteracy. The distinctly later age at which the Kathi girls are married

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appears to be due to their original tribal custom. While settling in the Peninsula and mixing with the Rajputs, they retained and practised some of their former social customs. The later age at which they must be then marrying, therefore, continues even to-day, a few instances of infant marriages being the infection caught from their subsequent association with the people of the land. Similarly the Kolis and Vaghris who have for a long time remained outside the pale of Hinduism have retained the aboriginal custom of marrying their girls by the time they reach the age of puberty.

Caste	Literate per mille in 1931	Proportion of married and widowed females per mille of females aged		
		0-6	7-13	0-13
Brahman Nagar ...	441·7	...	14	7
Vania Modh ...	303·0	...	26	13
,, Kapol ...	298·0	3	23	14
Brahman Audichya ...	122·2	0·7	61	31
Visha Shrimali (Jain) ...	165·6	2	15	9
Khoja ,, ...	118·7	5	34	20
Luhana	100·2	3	41	22
Kanbi Kadva ...	81·7	86	625	349
Darji	45·8	32	241	125
Rajput	36·8	20	204	106
Luhar	32·0	18	233	117
Mali	29·6	,,	271	122
Kathi	17·8	6	19	11
Dhobi	12·4	73	90	80
Kanbi Lewa ...	8·9	40	457	232
Bharwad	2·5	76	575	306
Rabari	1·7	113	487	283
Koli	0·9	5	99	46
Vaghri	0·8	8	74	35
Bhangi	0·4	12	114	58

159. Social Legislation and Age at Marriage.—Educated public opinion has during the past decennium rallied all its support in favour of late marriages. And the Darbar took the necessary initiative to recognise it by passing the Child and Old Age Marriages Prevention Act of 1930. It fixed the minimum ages for marriage at 14 for girls and 18 for boys. As for the Kadva Kanbis among whom the custom of periodical mass marriages prevails, it was provided that the ceremony of sending the bride with *anu* shall not take place before the girl had attained 14 years. Breach of the provisions of the Act was made penal, the punishment being either fine to the extent of Rs. 500 or simple imprisonment for 3 months or both. Women are, however, not liable to imprisonment. But with a view to recognise all subsisting engagements and to avoid any upsetting of existing relations, an exception was made in favour of betrothals, registered before the Vahivatdar of the Mahal within a month of the Act, which could materialise into marriages even after the Act came into force. This should have set the minds of the people at rest and precluded the possibility of any attempt at forestalling the operations of the new legislation. But mass psychology works differently. And so the period of six months which elapsed between the gazetting of the Act and its coming into effect from April 1930, witnessed a very fruitful marriage season. An analysis of the statistics of the proportions of the married of both the sexes between the ages of 5 and 10 reveals that there was a pretty good crop of marriages put through earlier than would otherwise have been the case. For, while the proportion of the unmarried in a thousand boys aged 5-10 fell from 952 in 1921 to 925 in 1931 that of the unmarried girls fell from 901 in 1921 to as low as 858 in 1931. The usual prejudice against keeping a girl unmarried is reflected in the greater proportionate increase of married females in this particular age group. The believers in orthodox injunctions against late marriages usually marry their daughters by the time they reach the age of ten. This class of people alone would try to circumvent the provisions of the new legislation. It is, therefore, quite natural that the proportions of the married females between the ages of 5 and 10 only would show a rise. But the Act did not have any adverse effect upon the two remaining age periods, *viz.*, 0-5 and 10-15 which showed clear gains in the ranks of the unmarried, which rose from 963 and 540 in 1921 to 983 and 668 respectively in a thousand females of those ages. So it may be confidently anticipated that the beneficial effects of the new legislation will be reflected, if not in the total disappearance of, at least in the marked reduction of infant and early marriages at the next Census.

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As regards the effects of the social legislation, it must be said that just as it is not possible to make man religious or moral by passing laws, so it is not possible to make him socially reformed. All attempts at introducing extreme reforms into the existing fabric of society have met with ill-success and have done more harm than good they have sought to bring about. For, human nature is averse to any interference with the customs and usages which have since ages governed its life and actions. But under certain conditions, it has great educative value and the passing of a law at a time as at the present, when the public opinion is sufficiently roused, apart from its acting as a deterrent measure, accelerates the movement of reform. The new Act has been instrumental in preventing a very large number of infant and child marriages. The Vahivatdars of all the Mahals have been unanimous in opining that the existence of the Act has put a very effective check upon them as a result of the prosecutions or fear of prosecutions and punishments under the new Act. In brief, the legislation has supplied a long-felt want and strengthened the hands of the social reformer.

160. General Survey.—Early marriages in this country are of long standing and their prevalence is sought to be justified on the ground of their being enjoined by religion. Marriage is regarded as a religious duty rather than a social obligation. But the Aryans, when they first came to India, were strangers to the child marriages, and there is ample evidence in the ancient texts to prove it. The Shrutis describe the bride as one who had 'reached the bloom of youth.' The hymns of the Vedas indicate that the union was between two partners who were fit in every way to execute the sacred functions of procreation. Again the Sankhyayana Sutra of Rig Veda which enjoins a vow of strict self-control for three nights after which the physical union is to take place points to a marriage neither of an infant nor of a child but of a mature virgin. The eminent scholar, Mr. C. V. Vaidya, asserts that "in the whole of Mahabharata, there is not a single case of child marriage." Upto the sixth century early marriages were unknown, because Bana described Rajyashri as a fully grown up lady. As opposed to the view held by some writers, notably Sir William Hunter, that the custom of early marriage found its way into Hindu society at the time of the Mughal invasion as a measure of safety is the opinion expressed by Mr. C. V. Vaidya :—

> "Child marriages must have come into vogue between 600 and 1000 A.D. Why they did so it is difficult to determine. As child marriages were already prevalent in 1030 A.D., it cannot be argued, as is sometimes done, that they came into vogue owing to Mahomedan oppression. We have stated elsewhere that they came into vogue owing to the people's desire to prevent women from becoming Buddhist nuns. Buddhism allowed women of a grown up age to become nuns and hence the marriage of girls at an early age must have become popular as a precaution. Buddhism was suppressed towards the end of the 8th or 9th Century A.D., and the custom of child marriage must have grown further into popular favour. Whatever the reason, certain it is that it was an established custom in the beginning of this sub-period and further grew during its course." [1]

Even accepting Mr. Vaidya's version that the custom of child marriage came into vogue to prevent mature women from becoming nuns, the influence of the Mahomedan invasions in making it a permanent feature of Hindu society cannot be minimized. The clash of two alien cultures caused severe hardship to the Hindus; and the periodical invasions from the North were a standing menace to the safety of the people. Under these circumstances, it is but quite natural that a Hindu father would have lightened his conscience, and freed himself from his responsibility by marrying away his child daughter and sending her to reside with the family of her father-in-law. If the Mahomedan invasions were, therefore, not at the root of the origin of the custom, they were certainly instrumental in perpetuating its existence. Again by that time, the various law-givers and commentators had set their seal upon the custom by the construction they put upon the Scriptures in favour of early marriages. Since then the precepts regarding the age at which marriage of a girl should take place have been interpreted as direct-

1. Vaidya, *History of Mediæval India*, Vol. III, p. 396.

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ing child marriages. It is, however, noteworthy that the early marriage of boys has been nowhere recommended. Manu prescribes the marriageable age for a man to be thirty. Verses prescribing late marriages for girls are also not wanting. The collective purport of the verses of Manu Smriti on this subject is :—

"That after a girl attains puberty, she should wait for three years, and if even during that period her father fails to arrange for her marriage, she should take the matter into her own hands and herself marry a suitable husband." [1]

The right has been thus reserved to the father to keep his daughter unmarried for three years after pubescence. Moreover, it is hardly possible to defend early marriages as having been sanctioned by the Shastras, when it is remembered that the object that the forefathers of the present day Hindus had in view was the production of a fit and illustrious race. Shushruta, the founder of the Aryan medical science, lays down in unambiguous terms :—

"If a child is conceived when the man is within twenty-five and the woman below sixteen it withers away in the very womb,.....Fertilization should, therefore, never take place in a woman who is a mere girl." [2]

The concensus of all these authorities on the question leads to the one and only conclusion that the object of the Shastras was neither to promote early marriages nor to prohibit late marriages. Nowhere have the late marriages been denounced in so many words. Contrariwise, there is ample evidence to hold that it was the matrimony of two fully grown up partners that the Scriptures contemplated. The origin of early marriages is historical rather than religious, to support which the aid of the Shastras was subsequently invoked by means of the convenient interpretation put upon them and probably by interpolations surreptiously introduced. And once it made its home into Hindu society either as a result of the impact of the Aryans with the Dravidians or as a means to prevent grown up unmarried women from becoming Buddhist nuns, the custom became all-powerful owing to its semi-religious character. Since then it has continued to rule the social life of the people without any protest against its manifold evils, until the commencement of the present century.

161. Social Consequences of Early Marriage.—Having seen that the existence of early marriages is an indisputable social phenomenon that governs the life of the people, some of the gravest consequences that have come in its wake should be examined. The modern Hindus stand no comparison with their forefathers who were superior to them both physically and intellectually. The physical deterioration has in the main been wrought by the nefarious custom of child marriage which has been practised for more than the last ten centuries. It has sapped their vitality and left them without any daring or stamina. Early marriages lead to early cohabitation and premature child-bearing, with all its attendant evils of sickly babies and girl mothers unfit to shoulder the risks and responsibilities of motherhood. The health of the mother suffers greatly. And in the event of the husband's death while the wife is still young, the custom of enforced widowhood makes her helpless and throws her at the mercy of her relatives. The dangerous results of early marriages cannot be better depicted than by reproducing the following passage at page 147 of Mr. Lankester in his *Tuberculosis in India*, quoted by Mr. Marten :—

"Everyone is aware of the consequences of sexual excess, the weakness of mind and body which results, and the extreme slowness with which restoration comes, if indeed it comes at all. Many people seem to think that such excess is only harmful or unlawful, forgetting the fearful strain upon the constitution of a delicate girl of 14 years or even less, which results from the thoughtless incontinence of the newly married boy or, still more, the pitiless incontinence of the remarried man. Serious as these causes of strain are upon the health of the young married girl, they sink into insignificance in comparison with the stress of maternity which follows. It is a truism to say that the processes connected with reproduction, which from one point of view may be regarded as the most important of human functions, should be allowed to take

1. Phadke, *Sex Problems in India*, p. 75.
2. *Ibid*, p. 108.

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place under the most favourable conditions possible. Surely it would seem to be of fundamental importance that these processes should be delayed until not only the special organs concerned, but also the body as a whole, shall have attained their full developmedt and be prepared for this great crisis. For in no other crisis of life does the ultimate result depend so much upon the physical condition of the body. In this connection we have of course to think of the nourishment of the child after birth as well as of pregnancy and child-birth. Nevertheless custom is allowed to carry the day and to dictate that all this strain shall be deliberately imposed upon girls at a period when it is obvious that their bodies are not as yet capable of enduring it with safety. It is of course argued that a warm climate favours precocity and that girls in India develop at an earlier age than in more temperate climates. Let even so much as two years be conceded, and in place of 18 years which may be reckoned as the lower limiting age in ordinary cases of marriage in the West, let 16 years be the age which popular opinion shall regard as the normal one for marriage in this country. The result would be an incalculable gain in the health of the women of India and also in that of the children whom they bear. In place of this what do we find? With thankful acknowledgment of the success which has met the efforts of those who have already done so much in this direction, 14 years is yet the upper limit of age for marriage in very many parts of India, which in multitudes of cases takes place at 13, or even 12 years. Well were it for those children if maternity when it came were accompanied by a minimum of risk and a maximum of loving care. But alas! the reverse is too often the case." [1]

Strict celibacy which the Shastras enjoin during the first quarter of life which should be devoted to study is ruled out of court under the present system of child marriage. Education which alone can help a man to shape his destiny and make his way in this world is checked at its source. Married state of life conspires to make any prosecution of studies an impossibility. The young couple who should be occupied with the thoughts of physical, mental and moral development are harnessed with the responsibilities of rearing and maintaining a family. They work themselves out before they know what it is to live. The dead routine of everyday life and anxiety to support a large family make them prematurely old; and no wonder that the mean age of the people is deplorably low.

162. Attitude of the People.—The question is natural: what then is the attitude of the people towards these gravest of social evils? How is it that they submit to them in meek silence and with supreme indifference?

Until recently, it did not occur to the majority of the population that there was anything wrong in the celebration of child marriages. The same is the attitude of most of the uneducated people even to-day. A Hindu's attitude towards religious injunctions is one of unquestioned obedience, and profound reverence. Neither their injustice nor their inequity tells upon his mind. For, what is religious and what his forefathers have in their wisdom ordained ought to be for his benefit. It can do him no harm. When such is the general trend of feeling, no radical change in the outlook of the people towards this time-honoured custom can be expected. Especially so when in the East, old customs die hard and any reforms that take place in the existing social order are spread over generations. So deep-seated is the force of a religious sentiment that under the existing conditions of society any possibility of a social revolution should be absolutely ruled out of court. Time alone can secure the necessary overhauling of old ideas and infusion of new thoughts by opening the eyes of the people towards the ailments from which the society suffers. And even then the older and more orthodox generation which rules supreme must pass away before any reconstruction of Hindu society of a more comprehensive nature can take place. In the peculiar structure of Hindu society and in the high esteem in which the upper classes are generally held, lies the key to open the gates of orthodoxy. If there is any lesson worth taking from the experience of the past, it is as regards the habit of the lower classes to emulate the upper in their social customs and ways of life. In modern times, the latter being educated are better suited to carry the torch of civilization and social reform. It is a matter of common knowledge, that any reforming tendencies in the social spheres first influence the intelligentsia of the upper classes, after which they permeate the lower strata of society. This process of filtration which has been responsible for the imitation by the lower classes of the customs of child marriage and compulsory widowhood should be now applied for the purposes of their eradication.

1. *India Census Report*, (1921) p. 158.

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During recent times, the increasing association of the people with the Westerners and the spread of English education have resulted in creating strong public opinion against the so-called venerable custom of early marriages. Though the masses have remained unaffected to a considerable extent, the more active and influential classes have sufficiently realised the dangerous consequences that have befallen the race owing to their subservience to a practice which has no solid foundation either in religion or in common sense. The existence of that pitiable class of child-widows has been the cause of grave anxiety to their fathers who also feel the obstacles in the way of educating their married children. The growing degeneration in the physique and morale of the race has attracted serious attention of all the thinking sections of society. The social consciousness of the people has been awakened to the anomalous position of the younger generation created by early marriages which put them at a great disadvantage in the battle of life. Barring an orthodox few, the older generation of the upper classes wholly sympathises with the aspirations of the modern youth. The latter wish that the marriage far from being an occasion for display by the fathers-in-law on both the sides, should be based upon the mutual consent of the parties to the wedlock. The influence of the West is also seen in their desire to contract love marriages. The combined effect of all these factors is to excite strong public opinion against the religion-ridden customs of early marriages and child widows. But though the reforming views find unfettered vocal expression, there is no great translating of them into action. Because in an eastern community, the very prevalence of a custom is a sufficient sanction for not abandoning it. Even those who in their heart of hearts believe that in marrying their children early, they are erring in their primary duty of parenthood, cannot take an initiative as others do not do so. But the customs become more repugnant when it is considered that the ages of the children married are the same. Were the boys some five to seven years older than the girls, it would go a great way towards mitigating some of the harmful effects of early marriages. As every girl baby is provided with a mate as soon as possible after birth, woe betide the father who plucks courage to keep his daughter unbetrothed for long. For, a boy who would be a suitable husband to his daughter is later on unavailable, and he is, therefore, faced with the contingency of waiting till such time as will enable him to find some husband becoming a widower or giving his daughter to any unworthy bachelor who is handy. On the other hand, the postponement of the marriage of a boy may sometimes make it hard to secure a bride afterwards. Yet the tendency among the educated persons is not only in the direction of postponing the marriageable age but also of securing a bride at least five years younger than the bridegroom. Neither have the women been slow to appreciate the difficulties that lie in the way of the progress of their sex. The proverbially docile and modest Hindu woman has awakened herself to the sense of deep social injustice done to her under the guise of religion. The educated girls discountenance the attempts of their parents to marry them early and without their consent. Some of the resolutions passed last year at Amreli by the second All-Kathiawar Women's Conference reveal the frame of mind that characterizes the modern womanhood. *Inter alia*, it recommended the raising of the age at marriage to 21 for boys and 16 for girls, consent marriages, remarriage of widows and passing of divorce laws, and condemned disparate marriages, polygamy and bride-price.

The influence of all this agitation as reflected in the statistics of civil condition has been considered before. The age at marriage has appreciably risen in the upper castes among whom infant marriages have become practically non-existent; while they have become less frequent than before amongst the lower. Its indirect and unconscious effect is also perceptible in the gradual raising of the age at marriage among the lower classes. If the progress during the past decennium has been appreciably noteworthy that during the decade to come cannot but be rapid, especially as the process will be assisted and accelerated by the operation of the newly enacted law for the prevention of child marriages.

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SECTION III—THE WIDOWED

163. The Widowed.—It has been already noticed that a large proportion of widows is a peculiar feature of civil condition in the State. Due consideration to this aspect of the statistics has been given while examining them for the whole State, and for each of the main religions. The remaining features alone will now be considered.

The proportions of widows and married women of all ages and religions show gradual decline. While the number of the former in one thousand females fell from 156 in 1911 to 149 in 1931, that of the latter went down from 510 to 480 during the same period. But the numbers of females per mille that were married and widowed in 1921 were 455 and 164 respectively. The figures of 1921 show a rise in the proportion of widows and a fall in that of the married females owing to the influenza epidemic which had a special selection for women of reproductive ages. The decreasing number of married and widowed females points to the postponement of the age of marriage. The proportion of infant widows per mille of females in the age group 0-5 has been reduced to ·3 in 1931 from ·8 in 1911. The proportion of child widows between the ages of 10 and 15 also shows a decline of 2 per mille of females in that age group. It shows that the influence of reforming tendencies, though not considerable, is still there. The marginal table compares the statistics of the widowed per 1,000 women in the age-period 15-40 for the last three Censuses. Leaving out of account the exceptional Census of 1921, no change in the attitute of the people towards the remarriage of widows is perceptible. The higher proportion of widows in 1931 than 1911 would seem to suggest that some more sections of the society who permitted the remarriage of widows have taken fancy to give up the practice to acquire the higher social status which usually attaches to a family whose widows do not remarry. But it will not appear to be so, when the figures are examined in the light of the history of the decade 1911–21. For, the females in the age-group 15-30 in 1921 that were rendered widowed by influenza would pass on to the group 25-40 in 1931, and leave their traces on the present proportions. The proportion of widows in the effective age periods is the highest (167) amongst the Jains but not so amongst the Muslims and Hindus. At the present Census, the number of widows in every thousand females aged 15-40 is 91 in the case of the Hindus, as against 96 in that of the Mahomedans. Corresponding figures for 1911 are 81 and 71 respectively. The relatively greater increase (25) of widows per mille of the Muslim females in the effective age categories as compared to that of the Hindus (10) discloses that during the past 20 years the adherents of Islam have hardened their attitude towards the remarriage of widows. Reviewing these figures conjointly with the marginal statistics which show the distribution by age periods of widows proportioned to 10,000 females, it is observed that the undiluted form of compulsory widowhood as represented by the Jainism of the State is responsible for the proportion of their widows in the age-period 15-40 being higher than that of the Hindus or Musalmans. The higher Muslim proportion is, however, explained by the fact that the lower castes who form the bulk of the Hindu population allow their widows to remarry, and that the freedom that their widows take in this behalf is far greater than that taken by the Mahomedan widows. The marginal statement shows that the widowers in the higher age-periods have also increased during the same period.

Religion	Number per 1,000 women aged 15–40 who are widowed		
	1911	1921	1931
All Religions ...	**84**	**152**	**95**
Hindu ...	81	149	91
Muslim ...	71	137	96
Jain ...	161	244	167
Parsi ...	...	16	29
Christian ...	...	31	...

Distribution by age periods of widows proportioned to 10,000 females			
Age Periods	Hindu	Muslim	Jain
All Ages ...	**1,457**	**1,575**	**1,965**
0–10	3	2	3
10–15	5	4	4
15–40	350	374	654
40 and over	" 1,099	1,195	1,304

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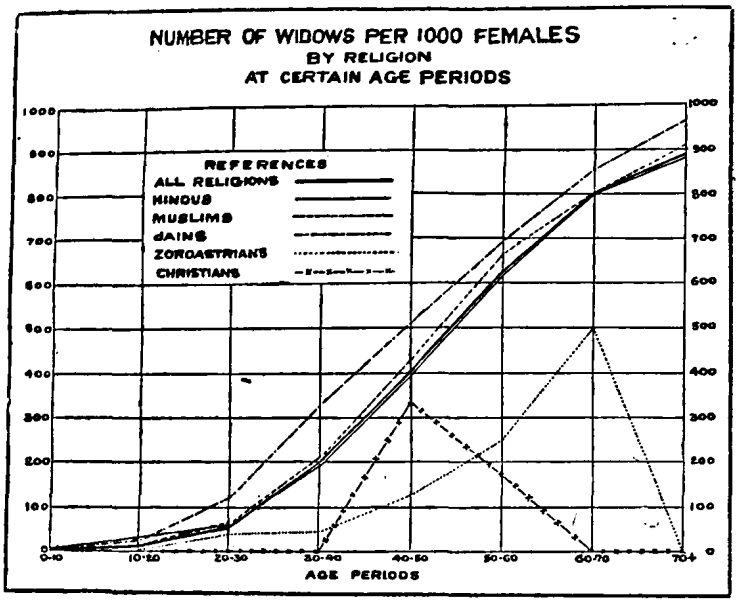

NUMBER OF WIDOWS PER 1,000 FEMALES
BY RELIGION
AT CERTAIN AGE PERIODS

AGE-PERIOD	RELIGION					
	All Religions	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian
All Ages	149	146	158	196	79	51
0–10	1	1	·8	·9	...	...
10–20	11	10	11	17	...	...
20–30	58	55	60	116	36	...
30–40	198	191	202	325	40	...
40 50	403	395	427	505	125	333
50–60	634	627	665	692	250	167
60–70	801	799	802	857	500	...
70 and over	885	878	906	961	...	...

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The highest proportion of widowers in all the age groups in 1921 is due to the heavy influenza mortality among the women of child-bearing ages. But when the statistics of the two normal decades 1901-11 and 1921-31 are compared, it is observed that the lapse of twenty years since 1911 has made no difference in the attitude of the people towards the marriage of a widower upto the age of forty. But the increase in the proportion of widowers in a thousand males between the ages of 40 to 60 from 179 in 1911 to 206 in 1931 reveals that after the age of 40 his chances of marriage have substantially diminished. The more humane considerations which have impelled the people to postpone the age at marriage have also operated to discountenance the disparate marriages of old men with young girls.

Age period	Proportion of widowers in 1931	1921	1911
15–20	12	29	13
20–40	53	99	53
40–60	206	250	179
60 and over	407	449	394

164. Widows by Caste.—Subsidiary Table V shows the distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain age periods for selected castes. Examining the figures of the widows of all ages, it is noticed that the proportion of widows is the highest in higher castes and lowest in the lower. This disparity results from the prevalence in one and the absence in another of the custom of compulsory widowhood. The marginal table in which the figures are shown for the different social strata shows that the priestly class and traders have 214 and 212 widows in every thousand females of all ages. But owing to the custom of widow remarriage which prevails amongst the other classes their number of widows dwindles down considerably. In the case of Vaghris, it is found to be as low as 80 per mille. The varying proportions also stand for the difference in ages at which marriage takes place among the different castes, the percentage of widows being higher among those who marry their girls early, and lower among those who marry them comparatively late. While there are 214 widows in every thousand females of all ages amongst all the sub-castes of Brahmans combined, the corresponding numbers for Nagar Brahmans, Luhanas and Visha Shrimali Vanias who practise late marriages are 170, 176 and 193 respectively. Among the Muslims, the local converts, *i.e.*, the Vohoras, Ghanchis, Khojas and Memons amongst whom remarriage of widows is more common than amongst the Saiyads and Sipais who practically disallow it, show a smaller proportion of widows than the latter. While the Vohoras have 102 widows in every thousand women of all ages, the Saiyads have no fewer than 200.

Social Groups	Number of widows per 1,000 women of all ages
Brahmans	214
Warrior Class	189
Bards	169
Traders (Hindu and Jain)	212
Agriculturists	121
Craftsmen and Artisans	151
Labouring Class	121
Herdsmen	127
Personal servants	146
Untouchables	120
Religious Mendicants	155
Musalmans with foreign strain	179
Local converts	144
Parsi	79
Indian Christian	56

A reference to the statistics by age shows that amongst the Muslims and higher caste Hindus, *i.e.*, the Brahmans and Vanias, infant marriage is conspicuous by its absence; and amongst the lower castes it is seen to obtain only amongst a few castes like the Charans, Kanbis, Bharwads, Rabaris etc. Child marriage prevails among the various castes of the State to a greater or less extent. It must, however, be remembered that those castes among whom child marriage prevails to a greater extent, permit their widows to marry again. The absence of child widows in the age-period 7–13 is particularly noticeable amongst those castes who have postponed the age at marriage. They include both those who have consciously raised it owing to the spread of education, as also others who though backward do not marry early. In the list of such castes should be chiefly included

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the Nagar and Shrimali Brahmans, the most of the Vania sub-castes, Kathis, Bhavasaras, Kansaras and the untouchables like the Bhangis and Chamars among all of whom there are no widows below the age of 13. But the proportion of child widows is high amongst the Charans, Kachhias, Malis, Bharwads and Hajams among whom it ranges from 6 to 11 per mille of females aged 7–13. Amongst the Muslims, the proportion of the Saiyad widows is as high high as 14, there being no widow in the case of all the rest except the Sipais and Khojas who have one each per thousand females in the age group 7–13. But the castes amongst whom there is no widow below the age of 16, are Nagar Brahmans, Luhana, Dasha, Modh and Porwad Vanias, Kansaras, Dhobis, Khavas, Balochis, Shaikhs, Pinjaras and Vohoras. The highest proportion of widows amongst the Jains is due to the strict prohibition of remarriage on the part of their females. For, otherwise there is hardly any difference between the social life of the Jains and the Hindus; and the basic principles that govern their life differ but little. The outward forms of both the religions are very nearly the same, and so are many of their deities who live and thrive in the same surroundings. Points of social contact between the followers of Jainism and Hinduism are just the same as those amongst their own co-religionists. Naturally, therefore, the civil condition obtaining amongst them should hardly exhibit any variance. When the proportion of Jain widows are compared with those either of the Brahmans or other Vania sub-castes, it appears that the relatively later age at which marriages take place amongst them results in their proportion of the widows being comparatively smaller than that of the latter. While the proportion of widows in one thousand females stands at 193 for the Visha Shrimali Vanias, it ranges from 222 for the Audichya Brahmans to 255 for the Kapol Vanias. The relatively smaller proportion of the widowed females among the Hindus of all shades is, as has been already seen, brought about by the inclusion under that head of the majority of those who practise widow remarriages.

165. Remarriage of Widows.—The existence of child widows is the gloomiest phase of the married life of the people. Enforced widowhood after the death of a husband is a peculiar feature of civil condition in this country. It is the logical outcome of an ideal of marriage which aimed not at the carnal union of the bodies but at the spiritual union of the souls. Separation was out of question under such a form of matrimony, and in the absence of separation, reunion was impossible. Hence the prohibition against the marriage of a widow. Like child marriage, compulsory widowhood was unknown to the Hinduism of the ancient Aryans. It is an outgrowth of the time when marriage was eulogized into a sacrament. In the Smritis, Samhitas and the epics, there is abundant evidence to show that remarriage of widows was not totally prohibited, but permitted under certain exceptional circumstances. Later on, combined with the practice of child marriage it led in due course of time to the creation of "that miserable class of women among high caste Hindus called child widows; and strangely enough the rule of Manu-Smriti which provided for the remarriage of girls whose husbands died before consummation of marriages was also at this time (1000-1200 A. D.) put into abeyance by a Kalivarja provision."[1] The injustice and inequity inherent in an institution of marriage which favours one of the two parties at the expense of another have been the subject of criticism of all social reformers. For, while a man can marry as many times as he pleases–not only when he becomes a widower but even during the lifetime of his wife–a woman is forbidden to marry even if her husband dies while still she is a virgin. Such a custom has come to be regarded as being against all canons of justice and fair play, and becomes increasingly indefensible with the advent of the modern ideas of equality of rights and duties. The economic dependence of the widow and the life of utter misery and poverty to which she is condemned after the death of her husband have been a matter of serious concern of all the educated and thinking sections of society, more particularly of the upper classes among whom remarriage is mostly disallowed and child widows abound. Public opinion is arraying itself in favour of permitting widows, especially the virgin widows below the age of twenty to marry again. The present attitude of the Hindu community

1. Vaidya, *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 397.

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is one of sympathy and sorrow for the pitiable plight of the widow. Though no radical change in the matter of remarriage of widows is to be expected in the near future, solitary instances that occur from time to time as a result of the changed outlook of society are purposely connived at by the members of their caste. During the past decade, a few cases of widow-remarriage have taken place even among the higher castes of this State. Among the Jains, a girl of Talaja who became a widow a few days after her marriage was soon after remarried. A similar instance recently occurred among the Dasha Vanias who allowed the remarriage of a young girl on the death of her husband some twenty days after marriage. Some of the lower classes who had aped this custom as a badge of higher social status have of late seen the the necessity of reviving it. Among the Mahomedans, the Sipais who did not allow even their virgin widows to marry have now relaxed the prohibition not only in favour of child widows but also in that of those who were economically dependent and unable to support themselves. The real difficulty of the social reformer lies in the way of his popularizing widow-remarriage in those higher castes who have strictly disallowed them for ages. Even despite their realisation of the injustice done to this less articulate section of humanity, the sentiment is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the people that they feel it against their conscience to depart from the prevailing custom. With all the sympathies pronounced in favour of widow-remarriage, there is such a strong sub-conscious abhorrence for it that it will be long before it is popularized and practised on an extensive scale. The sense of its injustice and unfairness has also dawned upon the more vocal and educated section of the oppressed sex whose rising generation gave vent to its feelings in the lectures made to support the resolutions referred to above and passed by the second All-Kathiawar Women's Conference. They advocated the introduction of comprehensive social reforms with a view to levelling existing inequalities and raising the status of women by making them economically independent.

SECTION IV—MISCELLANEOUS

166. Some Phases of the Marriage System.

(*a*) *Evidence of Polygamy.*—The Subsidiary Table I supplies the proportions of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages by religion, both for the State and Bhavnagar City.

In the general population, there are 1,017 married females of all ages to one thousand males married. The higher proportion of married females relatively to males would seem to suggest the practice of polygamy. But this is not wholly true, because monogamy is the general rule, and the proportions are apt to be disturbed by the currents of migration. The influence of the latter factor is particularly observable in the ratio of married females of the Parsi community who are 1,052 to 1,000 of their males married of all ages. Nothing but the emigration of their males explains the highest proportion of the married females of this strictly monogamous community. Similarly the greater migratory nature of the Jain population as compared to the Hindus or Muslims accounts for its proportion of married females being greater than that of either of them. The City ratios are lower than the State for all the communities except the Parsis owing to a fair proportion of the immigrant population especially in the effective age periods. The disparity of the sexes and the dearth of females which are more marked in the City than in the general population have hus their counterpart in the higher proportion of married males relatively to females (900).

(*b*) *Disparate and Old Age Marriages.*—The Table referred to above also shows the disparity of age of the married couples. The ratios of married females at all the age periods below 40 are considerably higher as a result of the disparity of the ages of the wife and husband. The husbands are found to be generally older than their wives. A reference to Imperial Table VIII also shows that among the lower classes which practise child marriages disparity is less than among the higher castes like the Brahmans and Vanias among whom the postponement of

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age at marriage tends to seek bridegrooms older than the brides. Another aspect of disparate marriages is the marriage of men past the prime of life with girls of premature age. As alread noticed humane considerations have come into the way of many a widower marrying after the age of 40. With the object of putting a stop to these old age marriages, the Child and Old Age Marriages Prevention Act passed in 1930 penalises the marriage of a man past 45 years with a girl who is less than half his age. Some opposition was, therefore, offered by the older section of society who could not brook any interference with their right of marrying young girls and endowing them with widowhood. The Act has succeeded in producing the desired effect, as the convictions that have taken place under it have operated as a wholesome check upon those aged widowers who want to remarry.

The universality of female marriage is reflected in the decreasing proportions of the unmarried females compared with males for the higher age periods, the same dropping to 70 per 1,000 unmarried males aged 40 and over. Inversely, the enforcement of compulsory widowhood in the case of females, and the greater freedom for remarriage enjoyed by males is denoted by the higher proportions of widows compared to males in all the age periods. One further observation suggested by the study of this interesting Subsidiary Table is that the higher proportion (1,882) of married females between the ages of 10 and 15 per 1,000 males of those ages is a distinct indication of the relatively lower age for marriage favoured in the case of females.

(*c*) *Kulinism or Hypergamy.*—The answers to the questionnaires returned by the Census Committees have sufficiently revealed the existence of hypergamy, *i.e.*, the custom of marrying a girl to a boy higher in social status. Its greater prevalence amongst some has been the cause of condemning some men to life-long bachelorhood, as the so-called hypergamous sections have adopted the selfish policy of receiving girls from the lower without the least intention of making a return. This absence of reciprocity on the part of the *kulins* has resulted in the signing of *ekadas*, that is to say in forming separate sections by those members of the caste who were regarded inferior in status by the *kulins*, mainly for the purpose of regulating matrimonial alliances. To avert the difficulty of finding brides for their sons they have framed strict rules prohibiting the giving of girls in marriage outside the *ekda* or the newly created zone and punishing the offender with a heavy fine.

(*d*) *Bride-price or Kanya-Vikraya.*—The sale of a daughter in marriage by her parents is in vogue in many castes; and where it is sanctioned by caste rules, the price-limit is fixed. It is a sort of a vicious circle which perpetuates itself. For, many a time it so happens that however unwilling a man may be to take money for giving his daughter in marriage, he is compelled to do so, simply because he has to pay a heavy bride-price to get a wife for his son. Sales of girls in marriage is a notorious social scandal in some parts of Kathiawar. Handsome prices fetched by their daughters in the marriage market led some of the Lewa Kanbis of the State to sell them outside Kathiawar. Betrothals were broken off, and girls were remarried in the lifetime of their husbands to satisfy their parents' greed for money. This evil practice resulted in a dearth of marriageable girls in their own community. Brides could be purchased for their sons at heavy costs. To put an end to this evil practice, the Darbar passed orders in 1919 prohibiting (*i*) the termination of a betrothal without any reasonable cause; (*ii*) delaying with the intent to sell her away, the sending of a married girl to her father-in-law's family after she was past pubescence; (*iii*) remarrying her for money during the lifetime of her husband without obtaining his written consent; and (*iv*) marrying her outside the community in Gujarat. Breach of these orders have been made punishable with fine, and even forfeiture of land on the recommendation of the caste tribunal. It need hardly be added that the effect of this regulation has been very salutary and beneficial to the members of the castes concerned who have been saved from great economic ruin and social degradation.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

PROPORTION OF THE SEXES BY CIVIL CONDITION AT CERTAIN AGES FOR RELIGIONS

STATE, CITY AND RELIGION	NUMBERS OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES														
	All ages			0–10			10–15			15–40			40 and over		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
STATE															
All Religions	718	1,017	2,160	933	1,638	1,123	689	1,882	1,180	135	1,157	2,108	70	645	2,191
Hindu ...	721	1,016	2,072	930	1,639	1,048	672	1,817	1,105	128	1,142	1,949	70	574	2,129
Muslim ...	714	1,010	2,739	937	1,653	1,667	717	3,268	1,800	177	1,232	2,604	102	515	2,797
Jain ...	687	1,049	2,995	982	1,545	...	833	5,778	...	125	1,350	5,338	43	483	2,445
Zoroastrian ...	701	1,052	786	774	...	...	800	...	...	660	1,591	2,000	250	722	692
Christian ...	674	779	1,000	967	...	...	1,400	...	...	326	1,114	...	333	452	2,000
CITY															
All Religions	659	900	2,918	920	1,379	1,750	649	2,130	1,636	136	1,015	2,725	106	465	3,016
Hindu ...	652	895	2,791	912	1,346	1,500	609	1,994	1,500	98	986	2,474	83	475	2,953
Muslim ...	692	899	3,327	961	1,842	...	755	2,761	1,000	187	1,069	2,882	132	407	3,551
Jain ...	640	950	3,529	904	2,000	...	736	5,818	...	150	1,144	5,619	133	459	2,934
Zoroastrian ...	711	1,234	917	785	...	...	786	...	...	667	1,700	2,000	333	893	818
Christian ...	675	875	667	933	...	...	1,400	...	...	325	1,400	...	333	467	1,333

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION BY MAIN AGE PERIODS AND CIVIL CONDITION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX AND RELIGION

RELIGION AND AGE	MALES			FEMALES		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All Religions	4,886	4,460	654	3,712	4,798	1,490
0–10	2,814	125	3	2,777	217	3
10–15	1,098	197	4	800	393	5
15–40	917	2,740	165	131	3,353	366
40 and over	57	1,398	482	4	835	1,116
Hindu	4,792	4,544	664	3,656	4,887	1,457
0–10	2,814	140	3	2,771	243	3
10–15	1,078	220	4	766	423	5
15–40	847	2,793	170	115	3,377	350
40 and over	53	1,391	487	4	844	1,099
Muslim	5,390	4,067	543	4,073	4,352	1,575
0–10	2,862	34	1	2,839	60	2
10–15	1,242	65	2	996	215	4
15–40	1,241	2,518	136	233	3,286	374
40 and over	45	1,450	404	5	791	1,195
Jain	5,697	3,670	633	4,051	3,984	1,965
0–10	2,743	19	...	2,788	29	3
10–15	1,220	30	...	1,052	179	4
15–40	1,580	2,192	118	204	3,061	654
40 and over	154	1,429	515	7	715	1,340
Zoroastrian	5,740	3,432	828	4,857	4,357	786
0–10	1,334	...	...	1,714	...	...
10–15	888	...	...	857	...	...
15–40	2,781	1,302	59	2,214	2,500	143
40 and over	237	2,130	769	72	1,857	643
Christian	5,375	4,250	375	4,987	4,530	513
0–10	1,875	63	...	2,479	...	...
10–15	625	63	...	1,196	...	...
15–40	2,687	2,187	188	1,197	3,333	...
40 and over	188	1,937	187	85	1,197	513

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DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND

RELIGION, SEX AND AGE	UNMARRIED			MARRIED			WIDOWED		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALL RELIGIONS									
Males ...	489	499	459	446	421	476	65	80	65
0–5	985·7	983	979	13·9	16	20	·4	1	1
5–10	925	952	950	74	45	49	1	3	1
10–15	845	819	854	152	173	143	3	8	3
15–20	503	500	615	485	471	372	12	29	13
20–40	152	132	171	795	769	776	53	99	53
40–60	32	37	35	762	713	786	206	250	179
60 and over	21	38	32	572	513	574	407	449	394
Females ...	371	381	334	480	455	510	149	164	156
0–5	983·3	963	974·5	16·4	33	24·7	·3	4	·8
5–10	858	901	926	140	93	73	2	6	1
10–15	668	540	639	328	448	355	4	12	6
15–20	105	55	131	875	907	851	20	38	18
20–40	11	19	14	870	798	888	119	183	98
40–60	2	13	7	504	411	517	494	576	476
60 and over	2	17	4	172	158	152	826	825	844
HINDU									
Males ...	479	493	449	454	425	485	67	82	66
0–5	984·3	982	977·6	15·4	17	21·7	·3	1	·7
5–10	916	948	945	82	49	54	2	3	1
10–15	828	804	836	169	188	160	3	8	4
15–20	473	479	592	514	493	394	13	28	14
20–40	138	127	161	807	772	784	55	101	55
40–60	30	35	33	761	709	786	209	256	181
60 and over	20	38	32	567	509	573	413	453	395
Females ...	365	379	329	489	459	518	146	162	153
0–5	981·3	961	972	18·4	35	27	·3	4	1
5–10	841	895	916	157	99	83	2	6	1
10–15	642	519	612	354	470	382	4	11	6
15–20	92	52	129	889	911	852	19	37	19
20–40	10	19	14	876	802	891	114	179	95
40–60	2	13	7	512	413	520	486	574	473
60 and over	2	19	4	176	161	152	822	820	841
MUSLIM									
Males ...	539	523	503	407	405	438	54	72	59
0–5	994·8	989	991	4·9	9	8	·3	2	1
5–10	980	981	985	19	15	15	1	4	...
10–15	949	895	947	49	99	51	2	6	2
15–20	654	589	740	335	379	251	11	32	9
20–40	204	140	199	753	773	752	43	87	49
40–60	28	29	36	798	764	815	174	207	149
60 and over	9	28	20	641	555	613	350	417	367
Females ...	407	389	364	435	449	483	158	162	153
0–5	997	978	991	3	19	9	...	3	...
5–10	957	932	977·2	41	63	22·4	2	5	·4
10–15	812	627	769	184	361	226	4	12	5
15–20	186	71	146	793	902	839	21	27	15
20–40	19	17	16	861	813	900	120	170	84
40–60	3	15	9	473	410	529	524	575	462
60 and over	1	7	·7	165	154	157	834	839	386

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TABLE III

MAIN AGE PERIOD AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES*

RELIGION SEX AND AGE	UNMARRIED			MARRIED			WIDOWED		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JAIN									
Males ...	**570**	**560**	**545**	**367**	**366**	**392**	**63**	**74**	**63**
0-5	997	985	989	3	11	9	...	4	2
5-10	989	977	990	11	16	10	...	7	...
10-15	976	921	967	24	62	30	...	17	3
15-20	735	683	783	258	286	214	7	31	3
20-40	287	215	297	674	714	674	39	71	29
40-60	78	85	86	715	674	713	207	241	201
60 and over	52	67	70	539	483	487	409	450	443
Females ...	**405**	**395**	**365**	**399**	**390**	**429**	**196**	**215**	**206**
0-5	997	983	991	2	15	9	1	2	...
5-10	980	976	988	19·3	21	11	·7	3	1
10-15	852	700	809	145	279	187	3	21	4
15-20	171	71	98	793	848	886	36	81	16
20-40	14	12	11	778	695	793	208	293	196
40-60	4	10	5	419	351	427	577	639	568
60 and over	...	5	4	112	100	121	888	895	875
ZOROASTRIAN									
Males ...	**574**	**552**	**533**	**343**	**420**	**437**	**83**	**28**	**30**
0-5	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-10	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-15	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-20	875	944	1,000	125	56	...	...	...	...
20-40	611	454	524	370	523	476	19	23	...
40-60	111	103	18	722	862	877	167	35	105
60 and over	...	...	...	588	846	1,000	412	154	...
Females ...	**486**	**461**	**527**	**436**	**454**	**423**	**78**	**85**	**50**
0-5	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-10	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-15	1,000	917	1,000	...	83	...	...	...	...
15-20	933	1,000	800	67	...	200	...	...	...
20-40	321	312	298	641	667	684	38	21	18
40-60	36	...	...	786	846	867	178	154	133
60 and over	...	...	...	500	400	636	500	600	364
CHRISTIAN									
Males ...	**538**	**468**	**510**	**425**	**495**	**469**	**37**	**40**	**21**
0-5	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-10	917	1,000	1,000	83	...	...	...	...	...
10-15	909	1,000	917	91	...	83	...	...	...
15-20	875	700	1,000	125	300	...	...	...	...
20-40	446	186	367	508	791	633	46	23	...
40-60	88	176	53	824	765	868	88	59	79
60 and over ...	...	...	...	1,000	...	1,000	...	1,000	...
Females ...	**496**	**391**	**526**	**453**	**547**	**449**	**51**	**62**	**25**
0-5	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-10	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-15	1,000	...	900	...	1,000	100	...	...	...
15-20	500	250	714	500	750	286	...	...	...
20-40	179	71	200	821	893	800	...	36	...
40-60	48	...	111	667	714	667	286	286	222
60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	...

Note—As similar proportions for the Censuses of 1891 and 1901 are not available, columns relating to their figures have been deleted.

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DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF

CASTE	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF								
	All ages			0-6			7-13		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HINDU AND JAIN									
Brahmans ...	**535**	**382**	**83**	**997**	**3**	**...**	**984**	**16**	**...**
Brahman Audichya	544	377	79	996	4	...	983	16	1
,, Modh ...	514	396	90	1,000	...	...	983	17	...
,, Nagar ...	511	400	89	1,000	...	...	984	16	...
,, Shrimali.	543	368	89	990	10	...	981	19	...
Warrior Class ...	**487**	**439**	**74**	**992**	**8**	**...**	**922**	**76**	**2**
Kathi	549	370	81	994	6	...	996	2	2
Rajput ...	471	456	73	991	9	...	903	95	2
Bards ...	**535**	**399**	**66**	**1,000**	**...**	**...**	**979**	**21**	**...**
Charan ...	535	399	66	1,000	...	...	979	21	...
Traders ...	**561**	**373**	**66**	**998**	**2**	**...**	**990**	**9**	**1**
Luhana ...	518	432	50	993	7	...	979	21	...
Vania Dasha ...	551	371	78	991	9	...	989	8	3
,, Kapal ...	568	354	78	1,000	...	...	996	4	...
,, Modh ...	553	396	51	1,000	...	...	976	24	...
,, Porwad ...	563	353	84	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...
Jain Visha Shrimali	575	362	63	1,000	...	...	992	7	1
Agriculturists ...	**402**	**519**	**79**	**973**	**26**	**1**	**739**	**259**	**2**
Kachhia ...	430	498	72	983	17	...	867	133	...
Kanbi ...	401	520	79	973·5	26·2	0·3	734	264	2
Mali ...	464	496	40	970	30	...	948	52	...
Craftsmen and Artisans ...	**477**	**465**	**58**	**991**	**8**	**1**	**903**	**96**	**1**
Bhavsar ...	418	529	53	1,000	...	...	967	33	...
Darji	449	489	62	995	5	...	919	81	...
Kansara ...	579	331	90	1,000	...	...	984	16	...
Kumbhar ...	467	473	60	987·1	12·5	0·4	873	126	1
Luhar ...	486	469	45	993	7	...	896	102	2
Mochi ...	484	464	52	995	5	...	949	51	...
Soni ...	559	387	54	1,000	...	...	984	16	...
Sutar ...	455	486	59	988	12	...	884	116	...

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TABLE IV

EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES

EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION

14-16			17-23			24-43			44 and over		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
921	**77**	**2**	**566**	**416**	**18**	**136**	**788**	**76**	**35**	**642**	**323**
933	65	2	573	410	17	148	777	75	39	656	305
904	88	8	485	500	15	92	135	73	23	608	369
895	105	...	613	363	24	126	797	77	24	647	329
896	104	...	597	376	27	153	763	84	35	595	370
803	**191**	**6**	**509**	**473**	**18**	**125**	**802**	**73**	**30**	**678**	**292**
964	36	...	728	261	11	193	743	64	61	636	303
763	229	8	465	516	19	108	816	76	21	690	289
918	**82**	**...**	**631**	**356**	**13**	**128**	**791**	**81**	**35**	**717**	**248**
918	82	...	631	356	13	128	791	81	35	717	248
941	**58**	**1**	**610**	**381**	**9**	**155**	**791**	**54**	**49**	**670**	**281**
944	56	...	418	579	3	71	875	54	24	744	232
980	20	...	685	303	12	150	796	54	68	624	308
886	110	4	665	323	12	199	745	56	36	669	295
920	80	...	534	466	...	102	831	67	48	722	230
963	37	...	639	333	28	159	746	95	46	636	318
963	37	...	644	346	10	172	778	50	59	659	282
410	**582**	**8**	**170**	**810**	**20**	**51**	**843**	**106**	**20**	**679**	**301**
359	563	78	262	738	...	73	868	59	54	645	301
407	587	6	167	813	20	50	842	108	20	677	303
673	308	19	283	717	...	62	871	67	18	848	134
656	**342**	**2**	**275**	**713**	**12**	**51**	**892**	**57**	**25**	**714**	**261**
778	222	...	406	594	...	32	936	32	...	750	250
627	373	...	214	771	15	39	909	52	14	715	271
879	104	17	576	407	17	154	771	75	381	238	381
619	380	1	250	738	12	42	898	60	13	718	269
583	417	...	247	741	12	74	880	46	7	750	243
669	327	4	226	755	19	33	912	55	14	762	224
924	76	...	508	492	...	92	857	51	33	719	248
649	347	4	247	742	11	32	902	66	8	748	244

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DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX

CASTE	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF								
	All ages			0-6			7-13		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labouring Class	**514**	**424**	**62**	**998**	**2**	...	**930·1**	**69·7**	**·2**
Dhobi ...	535	409	56	1,000	...	...	983	9	8
Koli ...	511	425	64	998	2	...	925·9	74	0·1
Vaghri ...	561	404	35	996	4	...	977	23	...
Herdsmen ...	**410**	**504**	**86**	**964·2**	**35·5**	**0·3**	**738**	**255**	**7**
Ahir ...	476	441	83	986	14	...	891	106	3
Bharwad ...	368	547	85	946	53	1	644	346	10
Rabari ...	401	502	97	973	25	...	744	254	2
Personal Servants	**477**	**453**	**70**	**992**	**8**	...	**938**	**59**	**3**
Hajam ...	473	460	67	993	7	...	932	65	3
Khavas ...	496	423	81	987	13	...	966	34	...
Untouchables ...	**540**	**416**	**44**	**989**	**10**	**1**	**954**	**44**	**2**
Bhangi ...	514	435	51	992	8	...	915	81	4
Chamar ...	511	444	45	984	16	...	959	41	...
Dhed ...	557	402	41	990	9	1	965	34	1
Religious Mendicants	**518**	**407**	**75**	**991**	**9**	...	**956**	**41**	**3**
Bava ...	518	407	75	991	9	...	956	41	3
MUSLIM with foreign strain ...	**516**	**430**	**54**	**997**	**3**	...	**974**	**25**	**1**
Baloch ...	537	389	74	1,000	...	...	977	23	...
Saiyad ...	517	420	63	985	15	...	1,000	...	...
Sheikh ...	490	475	35	1,000	...	...	968	32	...
Sipai ...	517	429	54	998	2	...	973	26	1
Local Converts...	**556**	**395**	**49**	**998**	**2**	...	**976·3**	**23·3**	**0·4**
Ghanchi ...	526	421	53	997	3	...	982	18	...
Khoja ...	574	389	37	998	2	...	985	15	...
Memon ...	573	378	49	997	3	...	960	40	...
Pinjara ...	533	389	78	1,000	...	...	958	21	21
Vohora ...	518	413	69	1,000	...	...	998	12	...
PARSI	**568**	**350**	**82**	**1,000**	**...**	**...**	**1,000**	**...**	**...**
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	**549**	**410**	**41**	**1,000**	**...**	**...**	**938**	**62**	**...**

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TABLE IV—*Contd.*

AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES

EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION											
14–16			17–23			24–43			44 and over		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
468	534	1	189	798	13	29	896	75	8	592	400
861	139	...	468	500	32	47	926	27	...	657	343
436	563	1	173	814	13	26	896	78	8	574	418
836	164	...	381	607	12	69	884	47	17	798	185
488	505	7	259	393	48	72	834	94	16	666	318
755	239	6	393	559	48	103	808	89	14	680	306
356	635	9	191	785	24	51	851	99	19	666	315
400	595	5	199	694	107	66	842	92	9	640	351
747	246	7	284	694	22	52	869	79	13	682	305
708	284	8	265	713	22	43	889	68	8	685	307
938	62	...	374	606	20	85	797	118	34	667	299
803	190	7	387	59	20	53	893	54	10	803	187
711	277	12	326	634	40	50	889	61	12	774	214
760	233	7	367	615	18	27	924	49	6	799	195
848	146	6	417	570	13	61	886	53	10	814	176
817	180	3	392	593	5	158	744	98	155	593	252
817	180	3	392	593	15	158	744	98	155	593	252
895	102	3	528	459	13	115	827	58	30	745	225
895	105	...	514	457	29	77	865	58	...	682	318
897	103	...	561	415	24	88	863	49	48	682	270
842	158	...	500	484	16	271	687	42	797	102	101
899	98	3	530	460	10	102	838	60	24	749	227
886	114	...	523	465	12	92	860	48	10	758	232
809	191	...	424	560	16	62	878	60	5	752	243
895	105	...	521	469	10	87	875	38	3	807	190
909	91	...	593	393	14	117	837	46	20	740	240
905	95	...	595	405	...	92	846	62	...	652	348
951	49	...	537	451	12	102	841	57	13	706	281
1,000	...	...	900	100	...	300	479	21	60	680	260
800	200	...	923	77	...	288	654	58	77	808	115

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DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX

CASTE	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF								
	All ages			0-6			7-13		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HINDU AND JAIN									
Brahmans ...	365	421	214	999	1	...	941	58	1
Brahman Andichya	359	419	222	999	1	...	939	60	1
,, Modh ...	366	421	213	1,000	...	...	901	96	3
,, Nagar ...	388	442	170	1,000	...	...	986	14	...
,, Shrimali	374	414	212	1,000	...	...	976	24	...
Warrior Class ...	349	462	189	983	17	...	831	167	2
Kathi ...	367	412	221	994	6	...	981	19	...
Rajput ...	344	476	180	980	20	...	796	202	2
Bards ...	373	458	169	984	11	5	917	70	13
Charan ...	373	458	169	984	11	5	917	70	13
Traders ...	387	401	212	998	2	...	978	21	1
Lubana ...	380	444	176	997	3	...	959	41	...
Vania Dasha ...	376	386	238	997	3	...	980	20	...
,, Kapol ...	364	381	255	997	3	...	977	22	1
,, Modh ...	370	425	205	1,000	...	...	974	29	...
,, Porwad ...	312	441	247	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...
Jain Visha Shrimali	409	398	193	998	2	...	985	14	1
Agriculturists ...	312	567	121	957·6	42·2	·2	535	461	4
Kachhia ...	303	537	160	928	72	...	551	449	...
Kanbi ...	312	568	120	957·4	42·4	·2	532	464	4
Mali ...	314	530	156	1,000	...	...	729	260	11
Craftsmen and Artisans	397	452	151	983	17	...	787	212	1
Bhavsar ...	324	512	164	1,000	...	...	821	179	...
Darji ...	327	497	176	968	32	...	759	238	3
Kansara ...	375	423	202	1,000	...	...	992	8	...
Kumbhar ...	364	501	135	979	21	...	756	243	1
Luhar ...	341	496	163	982	18	...	767	233	...
Mochi ...	393	470	137	994	6	...	838	160	2
Soni ...	384	422	194	992	3	5	942	58	...
Sutar ...	354	508	138	990	10	...	755	243	2

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TABLE IV—*contd.*

AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES

EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION											
14–16			17–23			24–43			44 and over		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
262	726	12	20	917	63	2	715	283	2	316	682
248	738	14	15	923	62	2	706	292	1	309	690
114	863	18	13	920	67	...	714	286	...	295	705
489	511	...	52	901	52	3	778	219	18	384	598
281	703	16	24	898	78	6	708	286	...	329	671
305	626	9	50	917	33	6	791	203	2	305	693
730	254	6	134	831	35	9	787	204	...	272	728
260	731	9	29	939	32	4	793	203	3	317	680
568	417	15	17	965	18	4	829	167	...	367	633
568	417	15	17	965	18	4	829	167	...	367	633
455	541	4	32	929	39	5	702	293	1	297	702
272	728	...	15	966	19	4	795	201	...	346	654
493	507	...	39	932	29	4	669	327	...	277	723
543	448	9	50	904	46	3	646	351	...	290	710
365	653	...	5	938	57	11	727	262	4	285	711
77	923	...	40	920	40	26	564	410	30	333	637
479	517	4	30	930	39	5	712	282	1	294	705
76	915	9	11	977	12	3	858	139	1	424	575
73	903	24	...	973	27	...	834	166	...	267	733
76	915	9	11	977	12	4	859	137	1	428	571
59	941	...	12	934	24	5	802	193	...	353	647
172	820	8	17	963	20	3	837	160	2	361	637
100	900	...	...	1,000	...	...	783	217	...	421	579
115	867	18	14	957	29	5	795	200	2	348	650
294	705	...	21	948	31	...	779	221	...	287	713
180	820	...	13	974	13	1	874	125	1	377	622
128	850	22	21	954	25	3	796	201	4	345	651
168	822	10	20	968	12	4	846	150	2	366	632
362	629	9	33	926	41	4	758	238	9	297	694
131	863	6	20	962	18	3	854	143	2	390	608

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DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX

CASTE	DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES O F								
	All ages			0-6			7-13		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labouring Class	413	466	121	994	6	...	903	96	1
Dhobi ...	357	456	187	927	73	...	910	90	...
Koli ...	411	466	123	995	4·9	0·1	901	98	1
Vaghri ...	464	456	80	992	8	...	926	72	2
Herdsmen ...	309	564	127	938	62	...	863	433	4
Ahir ...	374	492	134	983	17	...	788	210	2
Bharwad ...	274	611	115	924	76	...	425	569	6
Rabari ...	280	570	150	887	113	...	513	485	2
Personal Servants	374	480	146	985	15	...	850	145	5
Hajam ...	390	477	133	983	17	...	845	149	6
Khavas ...	317	490	193	995	5	...	872	128	...
Untouchables	439	441	120	994·6	5	·4	940	60	...
Bhangi ...	425	463	112	988	12	...	886	114	...
Chamar ...	410	442	148	997	3	...	939	61	...
Dhed ...	451	434	115	996	3	1	958	42	...
Religious Mendicants	364	481	155	992	8	...	844	154	2
Bava ...	364	481	155	992	8	...	844	154	2
MUSLIM With Foreign Strain	371	450	179	997	3	...	914	84	2
Baloch ...	363	478	159	977	23	...	872	128	...
Saiyad ...	336	464	200	1,000	...	...	899	87	14
Sheikh ...	405	453	142	1,000	...	...	960	40	...
Sipai ...	372	447	181	997	3	...	914	85	1
Local Converts...	429	427	144	998	2	...	959	40	1
Ghanchi ...	408	450	142	1,000	...	...	946	54	...
Khoja ...	434	425	141	995	5	...	966	33	
Memon ...	431	412	157	1,000	...	...	953	47	...
Pinjara ...	419	364	217	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...
Vohora ...	460	438	102	1,000	...	...	965	31	...
PARSI ...	478	443	79	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	523	421	56	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...

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TABLE IV—*contd.*

AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES

EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION

14-16			17-23			24-43			44 and over		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
266	728	6	29	952	19	5	880	115	2	387	611
240	760	...	64	887	49	14	775	211	...	278	722
263	731	6	27	954	19	4	879	117	2	385	613
315	685	...	44	939	17	7	911	82	...	451	549
166	824	10	20	966	14	2	871	127	1	408	591
383	603	14	44	944	12	1	856	143	2	392	606
65	927	8	9	979	12	3	892	105	...	442	558
91	902	7	7	973	20	2	843	155	3	341	656
161	819	20	18	964	18	6	813	181	...	357	643
179	797	24	15	966	19	8	825	167	...	380	620
85	915	...	27	959	14	...	778	222	...	291	709
424	569	7	56	925	19	8	871	121	4	435	561
359	625	16	46	912	42	5	861	134	3	451	546
427	564	9	48	930	22	8	820	172	10	371	619
445	553	2	63	928	9	9	887	104	3	448	549
178	809	13	8	966	26	5	843	152	3	325	672
178	809	13	8	966	26	5	843	152	3	325	672
333	663	4	38	941	21	8	824	168	12	287	701
188	812	...	83	917	...	...	839	161	...	366	334
500	500	...	37	954	19	...	767	233	...	312	688
294	706	...	71	929	...	76	810	114	...	340	660
336	659	5	34	942	24	5	829	166	15	277	708
450	530	10	63	906	31	6	809	185	1	431	568
324	669	7	16	927	57	...	851	149	...	462	538
411	580	9	53	931	16	4	756	240	...	481	519
518	464	18	64	901	35	9	804	187	2	343	655
667	333	...	200	771	29	...	754	246	...	323	677
676	324	...	162	822	16	22	894	84	...	470	530
1,000	...	...	850	150	...	180	760	60	33	700	267
1,000	...	...	353	647	...	129	871	...	...	539	461

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES IN EACH RELIGION

MALES

RELIGION	All ages			0–5			5–10			10–15			15–40			40 and over		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BHAVNAGAR STATE																		
All Religions	**489**	**446**	**65**	**985·7**	**13·9**	**·4**	**923**	**74**	**1**	**845**	**152**	**3**	**240**	**717**	**43**	**30**	**721**	**249**
Hindu ...	479	454	67	984·3	15·4	·3	916	82	2	928	169	3	222	733	45	28	720	252
Muslim ...	539	407	54	994·8	4·9	·3	980	19	1	949	49	2	318	647	35	23	764	213
Jain	570	367	63	997	3	...	989	11	...	976	24	...	406	563	31	73	681	246
Zoroastrian ...	574	343	83	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	672	314	14	76	679	245
Christian ...	538	425	37	1,000	...	...	917	83	...	909	91	...	531	432	37	81	838	81
BHAVNAGAR CITY																		
All Religions	**476**	**470**	**54**	**982·9**	**16·9**	**·2**	**940**	**60**	**...**	**880**	**118**	**2**	**259**	**704**	**37**	**26**	**759**	**215**
Hindu ...	457	488	55	977·4	22·4	·2	925	74	1	855	142	3	229	732	39	24	757	219
Muslim ...	526	425	49	1,000	...	...	976	23	1	941	58	1	326	638	36	35	773	192
Jain	530	415	55	998	2	...	986	14	...	974	26	...	356	617	27	23	749	228
Zoroastrian ...	604	315	81	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	682	303	15	73	659	268
Christian ...	573	386	42	1,000	...	...	917	83	...	1,000	...	...	588	368	44	83	834	83

FEMALES

RELIGION	All ages			0–5			5–10			10–15			15–40			40 and over		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
1	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	7	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
BHAVNAGAR STATE																		
All Religions	**371**	**480**	**149**	**983·3**	**16·4**	**·3**	**858**	**140**	**2**	**668**	**328**	**4**	**34**	**871**	**95**	**2**	**427**	**571**
Hindu ...	365	489	146	981·3	18·4	·3	841	157	2	642	354	4	30	879	91	2	434	564
Muslim ...	407	435	158	997	3	...	957	41	2	812	184	4	60	844	96	3	397	600
Jain	405	399	196	997	2	1	980	19	1	852	145	3	52	781	167	3	353	644
Zoroastrian ...	486	436	78	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	456	515	29	28	722	250
Christian ...	496	453	51	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	264	736	...	47	667	286
BHAVNAGAR CITY																		
All Religions	**350**	**474**	**176**	**985·7**	**14**	**·3**	**891**	**108**	**1**	**693**	**303**	**4**	**40**	**841**	**119**	**3**	**351**	**646**
Hindu ...	335	491	174	981	18	1	866	132	2	644	351	5	27	859	114	2	357	641
Muslim ...	401	422	177	997	3	...	956	43	1	816	183	1	72	807	121	5	314	681
Jain ...	366	424	210	998	2	...	966	34	...	822	173	5	58	772	170	3	338	659
Zoroastrian ...	482	436	83	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	455	515	30	29	706	263
Christian ...	514	449	27	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	271	729	...	53	737	210

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CHAPTER VII

INFIRMITIES

SECTION I—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

167. Reference to Statistics.—The statistics relating to Infirmities are contained in Imperial Table IX, divided into three parts. By Parts A and B are supplied the figures of the infirm by age and Mahal respectively. Part C has been compiled specially for the State to show the numbers of the afflicted in certain castes. Three Subsidiary Tables given at the end of the Chapter show the proportionate variation and distribution of the Infirmities.

168. The Nature and Scope of Inquiry.—The Census literature takes notice only of the four main infirmities which were to be recorded by the enumerator in the last column of the general schedule. They were Insanity, Deaf-mutism, Blindness, and Leprosy. The instructions on the book cover were:—

"Column 18 (infirmities).—If any person be blind of both eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in the Column."

"Do not enter those who are blind of one eye only, or who are suffering from white leprosy only."

By way of caution, the Census Code further directed as under:—

"Care is needed to prevent the entry of persons suffering from leucoderma or white leprosy and other infirmities not falling within the scope of this column. If the person enumerated is not insane or totally blind or a deaf-mute or a leper, then no entry is necessary in column 18."

The infirmity column being at the end and mostly blank, the entries were copied on separate slips by a gang of selected copyists under the supervision of the Head Supervisor. All such incorrect entries as *kano* or one-eyed, *chitbhram* or mentally deranged, and *bahero* or merely deaf which are not Census infirmities were rejected. The sorting was also carried out by the same staff.

169. The Accuracy of Returns.—Statistics supplied by few census heads are less reliable than those returned under the infirmity column. The errors are inherent in an investigation which is by its nature technical, and seeks to collect information which demands some amount of expert knowledge. The enumerators are ordinary laymen and not highly educated. Far from making any diagnosis as regards the existence of an infirmity, they were to accept the answers given by the enumerated, and so the duty of a conscientious enumerator ended when he had satisfied himself that an affliction which was not strictly a Census infirmity was not returned as such. But a correct diagnosis can hardly be made. For, leprosy as will be seen further, is not easy to be diagnosed during the first stage of its affliction. It is very readily confused with leucoderma and white leprosy. Difficulties in the way of correct diagnosis of complete insanity and the various intermediate forms of mental derangement are obvious. Again, those who are hard of hearing and dim-sighted owing to old age generally pass off as deaf-mutes and blind respectively. Apart from the errors arising from incorrect diagnosis both on the part of the people and the Census officials is the incompleteness of the returns owing to the deliberate concealment of infirmities. Its motive, however, varies according to the social obloquy that attaches to each of them. While blindness is more readily recognised than any other defect, the inducement to conceal leprosy, especially among the higher classes is great. Deaf-mutism which is not infrequent

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ly accompanied by lunacy does not receive an early recognition owing to the reluctance of the parents to do so, so long as it can be treated merely as a case of retarded development. Omissions are, therefore, more numerous in the lower age periods than in the higher. The incentive to hide the defects is usually greater in the case of females than in that of males, particularly in the case of the leprous and the blind. It may be pointed out that Hindu Law mentions certain physical and mental defects which exclude a person from inheritance. Blindness, deafness, and dumbness, provided they are both congenital and incurable, lunacy existing at the time the succession opens, complete and absolute idiocy, and leprosy of a virulent type are mentioned among the disabilities that come in the way of a person inheriting property under Hindu Law.[1] The existence of such a legal provision undoubtedly provides a strong incentive to their concealment, though the general ignorance of the people about it comes in the way of its appreciably affecting the Census returns.

In view of these errors, both deliberate and unconscious, that vitiate the statistics of infirmities, it has been seriously proposed to drop them altogether from the Census records and make them the subject of a separate and independent inquiry by experts. The accuracy of the returns of the infirm is highly doubtful even in European countries and the United States of America. At one time the infirmity inquiry was dropped from the Census schedule of the latter country, but it was reincorporated on the next occasion. Even in India, suggestions have from time to time been made to abandon the attempt to collect the statistics of some of the infirmities. At the present Census, the Census Commissioner urged the omission of the leprosy column. But the Department of Public Health objected to it on the ground that the Census figures afford "a basis for an estimate of true numbers framed from a comparison between the figures obtained by an expert from a detailed survey of leprosy in given areas and the Census returns for the same areas, such comparisons suggesting that the census figure is about 10 per cent. of the true figure for India."[2] Similarly in 1921, in reply to the suggestion of Major Shaw, the Superintendent of the Yervada Lunatic Asylum, to omit the figures of the insane from the Census Report as being very inaccurate and misleading, the Government of India defended their inclusion, saying:—

> "It has always been admitted that infirmity statistics collected at the Census are inaccurate. But the Census figures, even though inaccurate, are of some interest and value because the errors are fairly constant from Census to Census and the ratio of variation affords some guide to the growth or decline of a disease. The statistics also give some clue to the territorial and racial distribution of the infirmities."[3]

Moreover, as pointed out by the Census Commissioner in his Note, the statistics of distribution and variation are of some comparative interest in a country like India, where there are few ordinary means of obtaining them. Such as they are, the Infirmity Tables have some undoubted utility, and cannot be dropped from the Report, without abandoning what little chance they otherwise afford for some useful and interesting comparisons.

170. Comparison with 1921.—The margin compares the total population afflicted in 1931 with that at the two preceding Censuses. The present returns show an excess of 1,009 and 1,529 infirm over those of 1921 and 1911 respectively, the percentages of increase being as great as 52 and 108. This high percentage variation is to be accounted for mostly by improved enumeration and partly by the peculiar conditions of the decade which preceded the Census of 1921. The latter part of the decade 1911–21 was marked by years of high prices and scarcity, and excessive mortality from the plague and influenza epidemics. The defectives mostly live on private

Infirmity	Total afflicted		
	1931	1921	1911
Total ...	**2,941**	**1,932**	**1,412**
Insane ...	292	166	92
Deaf-mute ...	299	420	297
Blind ...	2,297	1,319	992
Leper ...	53	27	31

1. Mulla, *Hindu Law*, 5th edition, p. 106.
2. Paper on '*Census of India, 1931*' read by him before the India Section, Royal Society of Arts.
3. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 166.

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charity which disappears in times of economic distress. It is also a well-known fact that the persons suffering from infirmities are relatively short-lived and possess to a less extent the vitality which enables the healthy to tide over the period of distress. The mortality among them is, therefore, naturally higher than among the rest of the population. The machinery of enumeration is also becoming progressively precise, and each successive enumeration becomes more accurate than its predecessor. But it is difficult to apportion the relative quota of these two factors in pruning the numbers of the afflicted in 1921 and swelling them in 1931. The present Census registers a rise under all the infirmities except deaf-mutism. But a reference to the marginal statement which supplies the proportions of the infirm per 1,00,000 of the State population and compares them with the similar proportions for the State of Baroda, the whole of India and the Presidency of Bombay, shows that the higher proportion of the deaf-mutes in 1921 arises from the inclusion in the records of those who were not both deaf and dumb, but only hard of hearing owing to advanced years. This is also borne out by the abnormal increase in the proportion of the deaf-mutes aged 60 years and over at the Census of 1921. As against 11 deaf-mutes of that age in 1921 per hundred thousand of the population, there are only 2 in 1931. A comparison of the proportions of 1921 and 1931 Censuses with those of 1921 for Bombay and Baroda reveals the greater accuracy of the present figures, except in the case of the blind. It may be that some of the dim-sighted persons have been returned as totally blind, though really not so. But even this contingency should be ruled out of court as being due to the special physical conditions of Kathiawar which give to the Kathiawad Division of the Baroda State 351 males and 647 females suffering from blindness per 1,00,000 of the population, as compared to 342 and 583 respectively for this State. It is seen that the present proportions of the blind though higher than those for Baroda as a whole are lower than those for its Kathiawad Division. The present figures of the blind may, therefore, be considered reliable and not unduly inflated. As compared to 1921, better enumeration has played no mean part in bringing about the relatively greater accuracy of the infirmity statistics returned at the present Census.

Infirmity	Ratio per 1,00,000 of the population				
	State		Baroda	India	Bombay
	1931	1921	1921	1921	1921
Total ...	**588**	**463**	**272**	**419**	**319**
Insane ...	58	39	28	47	42
Deaf-mute ...	60	98	60	28	55
Blind ...	459	309	152	319	186
Leper ...	11	6	32	26	36

Of the total afflicated population, nearly 10 per cent., each are insane and deaf-mute, 78 per cent. are blind, and only 1·7 per cent. are leprous. The corresponding proportions for 1921 are 9, 22, 68, and 1 per cent. respectively. As compared to 1921, there are 19 more insanes, 38 fewer deaf-mutes, 150 more blind, and 5 more lepers per 1,00,000 of the population.

Section II—Insanity

171. Nature of Returns.—Only those who were actively insane were to be returned under this head; and not those who were merely weak-minded, idiotic or imbecile. But the insanity statistics, one may presume, include both those who suffer from violent forms of mental derangement or insanity properly so-called on the one hand, and those who suffer from less pronounced forms of mental instability as idiocy, imbecility or cretinism on the other. Idiocy is congenital and represents a state of profound mental derangement, while imbecility is a somewhat milder form of idiocy. Cretinism, too, is a form of inborn insanity. To distinguish between these various degrees of mental disorder, attempts were made in European countries to classify them separately. But their failure is a warning against the repetition of a similar experiment in a country like India where the agency through which the Census data are collected is highly imperfect. But the extent to which the statistics of idiocy are mixed with those

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of total insanity can be very readily gauged by referring to the age returns of the insane. The smaller proportion of the insane in the lower age-groups, which is as low as 3 per 1,00,000 of each sex in the age period 0-5 points to the inclusion of a very small number of the congenitally weak-minded in the records of insanity.

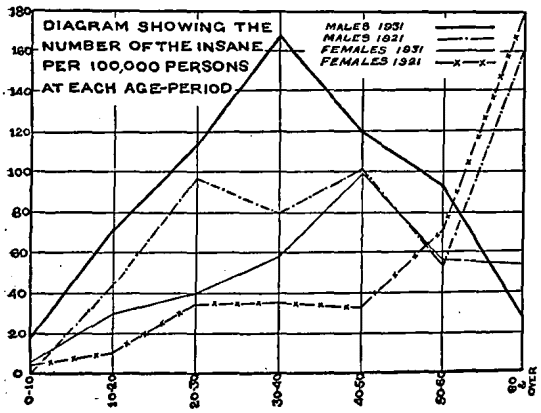
The marginal table compares the absolute and proportional figures of the insane for 1921 and 1931. The 1931 figures show a rise in both these respects. The reasons for the variation lie, as seen before, in the peculiar condition of the decade 1911–21 whose second quinquennium proved more fatal to the disabled. The greater incidence of insanity at the present Census as compared to the past though partly due to the inclusion among them of those who have lost only some amount of self-control is also due to better enumeration. But when the similar proportions (73 males, 33 females) for the Kathiawad Division of the Baroda State as returned in 1931 are considered, one is tempted to believe that the increase is more due to the latter factor than the former.

Year	INSANE			
	Actual figures		Proportion per 1,00,000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1921	114	52	52	25
1931	202	90	79	37

172. Local Distribution.—The table inserted in the margin shows the distribution of the insane by the Mahals of the State. The proportions of the insane per 100 mille of the population are higher for the Mahals of Daskroi, Sihor, Victor and Talaja than those for the remaining Mahals. It has been held that the areas of maximum prevalence of the affliction are either the hills or along the foot of hills. The territorial distribution of the infirmity noted above conforms to this theory, as the Mahals aforesaid being in the vicinity of Khokhra, Sihor, the Babariadhar and Talaja Hills possess the requisite physical conditions which produce greater insanity.

MAHAL	Insane per 1,00,000 of the population
State ...	58
Daskroi ...	77
Sihor ...	73
Umrala ...	46
Gadhada ...	52
Botad ...	53
Lilia ...	40
Kundla ...	40
Victor ...	74
Mahuva ...	53
Talaja ...	65

173. Insanity by Age and Sex.—A reference to Subsidiary Table III and the diagram in the margin discloses that the proportion of persons suffering from insanity is smaller in the lower age categories than in the higher. The reluctance of the parents to own the infirmity so long as there is the slightest hope of recovery is responsible for the fewer returns between the ages of 0 and 10. But the deficit in the lower age periods is also genuine, inasmuch as insanity is a disease of the adult population. It is associated with the strain on nerves consequent upon the struggle for existence, and the youthful vices of excessive intemperence and sex excesses. In



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the case of men, the incidence of insanity begins to increase from the age of 15, when the worries of life occupy their minds. The proportion of the insane in one hundred thousand males of each age-period begins to rise from 97 in the age group 15-20 to 170 in the age group 30-35, lowers down a little to 164 between the ages of 35 and 40, and gradually declines to 78 in the age group 55-60. The incidence increases with the wear and tear of nerve tissues in the prime of life. The greatest liability to mental disorder appears to be in both the sexes between the ages of 30 and 40; and though the liability progressively increases from the twentieth year after birth, the falling off of the proportions after the age of forty is due to the shorter longevity of the defectives. There are only 28 insane persons in every hundred thousand of the population aged over 60 years. The gradual decline also testifies to the accuracy of the statistics gathered. In view of these facts, the sudden rising upwards of the 1921 curves after the age of 50 is inexplicable and casts a shadow of doubt around the correctness of the figures of the later age periods of that Census. In the case of women, the greater liability appears from the age of 15 years and the maximum is reached in the age group 40-50. The age periods 15-50 in their case are marked by the effects of early child-bearing, premature motherhood, and the occurance of menopause. But the sex ratio points to a great disparity in the numbers of the afflicted of the two sexes. There are 446 females insane to 1,000 males of all ages. The deficiency in the female returns should be attributed to the deliberate concealment of the defect, especially by those belonging to the higher strata of society. But the difference is also due to the difference in the mode of life of both the sexes. Women lead a life of comparative tranquility, and are free from the economic strain, involved in making a livelihood which is the lot of their brothers here and their sisters in Europe. Use of stimulants and intoxicants in which men indulge frequently is known to few. The disparity, therefore, in the proportions of the sexes is real, though not so great as that revealed by the Census figures.

174. Insanity by Caste.—The absolute statistics of insanity by caste are contained in Part C of Imperial Table IX. The marginal proportions of the insane per 1,00,000 of each caste, though of some interest, are not very illuminating. They, however, lend clear support to the view expressed by Mr. Mukerjea, Census Commissioner for the Baroda State:—

"Insanity is a disease associated with socially higher and economically more provident classes."

The upper Hindu castes of the Brahmans, Vanias and Rajputs, and among the Muslims, the trading caste of the Khojas are more prone to be insane on account of the greater exertions on their nerves in making money than the lower castes of the Bharwads, Kathis and Kumbhars who lead a less strenuous and more easy-going life. But while the Parsi proportion (324) attracts especial attention, and points to their leading a life of great mental activity and strain, the relatively higher proportions of the insane among such of the lower classes as the Ahirs and Dheds may well be ascribed to their addiction to intoxicating drinks.

Caste	Proportion of insane per 1,00,000 of each caste
State ...	**58**
Ahir ...	52
Bharwad ...	28
Brahman ...	89
Dhed ...	50
Kanbi ...	45
Kathi ...	16
Koli ...	45
Kumbhar ...	26
Rajput ...	51
Vania ...	79
Memon ...	14
Khoja ...	72
Parsi ...	324

175. Causes of Insanity.—Among the predisposing causes that tend to produce insanity, the influence of heredity, though there, must be greatly discounted in the absence of trustworthy social statistics. But the influence of civilization is always there, and cannot be underestimated.

"For, it is amongst the most highly civilized that insanity is most prevalent. In the process of evolution, life in general becomes more complex, adaptation more difficult, mental conflict more in evidence. The insane, too, are found with greater frequency in the congested centres of population where the struggle for existence is at its greatest height. The percentage of insanity is greater among the unmarried than the married."[1]

1. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII, (14th Ed.), p. 384.

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The enervating climatic conditions reduce the vitality of the people and make them easy prey to insanity. There are also the effects of such extraneous causes as stimulating drugs, intoxicants and opiates, which are very often grossly exaggerated. The psychogenic aspect of the disease is represented by such factors as domestic trouble, monetary crisis, and the loss of a relative which favour its appearance. Consanguineous marriages and inbreeding are now no longer recongnized as a source of insanity, though close inbreeding has a tendency to induce nervous instability by accentuating similar variations in the mates.

SECTION III—DEAF-MUTISM

176. Deaf-Mutism.—Under deaf-mutism were to be returned those who were both deaf and dumb. No entry was to be made in the infirmity column for those who possessed only the power of speech or hearing. In spite of the special instructions given to the enumerators to guard against the return of senile deafness, its total elimination was not possible, and the records, therefore, contain a few who were deaf or whose faculty of hearing had been impaired owing to old age. But the greater accuracy of the present figures of deaf-mutism will be apparent from the marginal statement which compares both the absolute and proportional figures for the last two Censuses. This is the only infirmity which returns a smaller number of the defectives than that in 1921. The reason is to be traced to the far less reliable nature of the statistics than returned under this head. As in the case of other defects, those afflicted by deaf-mutism must also have suffered during the decade 1911–21 owing to their low resisting power which must have reduced their number pretty fairly. Like other infirmities, this one must have also registered an increase at the present Census. But better enumeration and care taken to exclude those who were only hard of hearing have resulted in the smaller number of the deaf-mutes returned in 1931 than in 1921.

Year	Actual Figures		Proportion per 1,00,000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1921	226	194	103	94
1931	184	115	72	47

The marginal table shows in vivid contrast the proportions of the deaf-mutes per 1,00,000 of the population at the last two enumerations. The great inflation of the 1921 ratios in the later age-groups is significant. At the present Census the number of deaf-mutes in one hundred thousand of the population is 60 as against 98 in 1921. The 1921 proportions for the Indian Empire and Bombay Presidency are 60 and 55 respectively.

NUMBER OF DEAF-MUTES PER 1,00,000 PERSONS OF EACH AGE GROUP FOR THE LAST TWO CENSUSES

Age	1931		1921	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	**72**	**47**	**103**	**94**
0–10	52	38	43	44
10–20	86	56	79	45
20–30	85	55	110	73
30–40	90	64	129	86
40–50	66	41	129	115
50–60	60	21	185	152
60–70	79	51	585	1,214
70 and over	...	...	1,137	1,416

177. Local Distribution.—In the margin are inserted the numbers of the afflicted per 1,00,000 of the total population by Mahal. While the State average is found to be 60, the Mahal ratios are widely divergent, and are found to exceed the former in Botad, Victor, Mahuva and Talaja. Except the Mahal of Gadhada where the proportion of the deaf-mutes is at par with that of the State, the proportions of all the remaining Mahals fall below that of the general population.

Mahal	Number of Deaf-mutes per 1,00,000
State ...	**60**
Daskroi ...	47
Sihor ...	41
Umrala ...	40
Gadhada ...	60
Botad ...	61
Lilia ...	51
Kundla ...	56
Victor ...	61
Mahuva ...	68
Talaja ...	110

"In Europe and the United States deaf-mutism is found to be associated with cretinism and goitre", and as Sir Edward Gait pointed out, "it has always been a popular, as well as a scientific belief that the water is the vehicle of the pathogenic organism. The same association of the three infirmities exists in India, wherever deaf-mutism is specially prevalent; and here also the areas of maximum prevalence are ordinarily along the course of certain rivers."[1]

1. *India Census Report*, 1911, p. 350.

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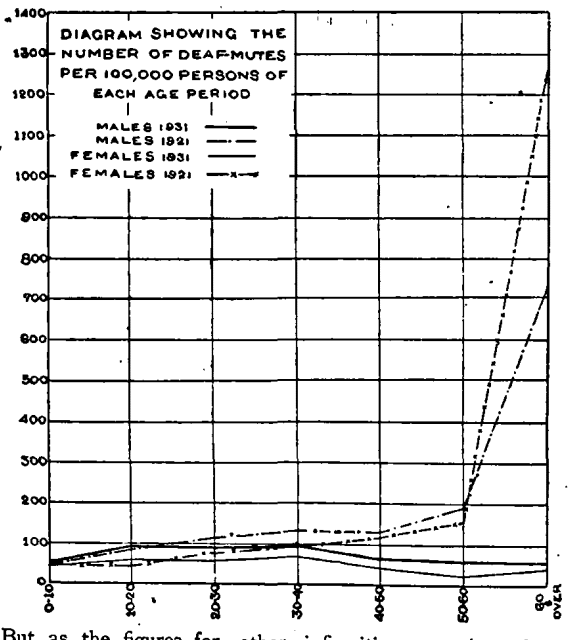
It has been also found to prevail along the sea-coast. In Bhavnagar also the majority of the Mahals noted before whose ratios are higher than the State ratio are on the sea-coast. Rivers also pass along all of them, but as they are for the most part dry, it is not possible to ascertain how far they contribute to the greater prevalence of the infirmity.

178. Deaf-Mutism by Sex and Age.—As in the case of all the infirmities except blindness, females are afflicted to a less extent than males by deaf-mutism. The sex ratio of the deaf-mutes is 625 females to 1,000 males of all ages. Though deaf-mutism can be acquired after birth, it is nonetheless a congenital defect. The smaller proportion of the afflicted in the age-group 0-5 shows that a considerable number of the congenitally defectives is omitted from the returns owing to the reticence of their parents. The latter are always reluctant to admit its existence, so long as they can pursuade themselves into the belief that their child is only one of those who acquire the power of speech a little latter in life. Another reason for the deficiency lies in the nature of the affliction which makes it difficult to discover it, until an advanced period of childhood is reached. For, though the child remains mute, the real cause is neither readily acknowledged nor properly attended to. Examining the figures by age, the deaf-mutes being comparatively short-lived, its maximum prevalence should be expected in the lower age-periods after which there should be a progressive decline in their proportions. But as will be seen from the marginal diagram, the proportions of the deaf-mutes of both the sexes are steadily on the increase upto the age of 40 years, after which they gradually fall off. The rise in their proportions after the age of 60 is due to the return as deaf-mutes of some of those who had lost only their power of hearing owing to old age.

A comparison of the 1931 curves with those of 1921 shows the utter worthlessness of the figures of advanced years for the latter Census whose proportions abnormally increase after the age of 50. But this is far from the truth as the relatively shorter life of the deaf-mutes cannot be reconciled with the continuously rising nature of the 1921 curves which results from the treatment of senile deafness as deaf-mutism.



179. Deaf-Mutism by Caste.—Any analysis of the proportions of the deaf-mutes by caste is useless, as the infirmity, as seen before, is determined by the physical conditions obtaining in a tract and has no connection either with race or occupation. But as the figures for other infirmities are given by

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caste, the proportions of deaf-mutism are also given in the margin for some selected castes. The higher Parsi and Khoja proportions are susceptible to the inference that inbreeding and cousin marriage have got something to do with the appearance of the infirmity among them.

CASTE	Proportion of Deaf-mutes per 1,00,000 of each caste
State ...	**60**
Bharwad ...	28
Brahman ...	73
Kanbi ...	26
Koli ...	56
Kumbhar ...	100
Rabari ...	42
Rajput ...	64
Vania ...	41
Khoja ...	181
Parsi ...	971

180. Deaf-Mutism and Insanity.—A close connection exists between deaf-mutism and insanity. An examination of the nine cases of co-existent infirmities cited in the margin also suggests the same inference. In four out of nine cases, insanity is associated with deaf-mutism. Whatever be the cause, some sort of affinity does exist between these two infirmities and cannot escape our observation. Besides, some of the Mahals like Victor and Talaja which fall into the zone of the greater prevalence of insanity are also part of the areas of maximum prevalence of deaf-mutism.

Infirmities	Persons
Total ...	
Insane, Deaf-mute & Blind	1
Insane and Leper ...	1
Insane and Deaf-mute ...	3
Insane and Blind ...	3
Deaf-mute and Blind ...	1

SECTION IV—BLINDNESS

181. Blindness.—The statistics of the blind include both the sets of figures—of those who are congenitally blind, as also of those who lose their vision after birth. Blindness is the only infirmity which is easily diagnosed and least concealed. Because, the affliction of the infirmity which in other cases operates as a motive for concealment, impels the infirm in the case of blindness to parade it before others for exciting their sympathy and support. The possibility of including in the records those who are merely dim-sighted or partially blind with those who are blind of both eyes or totally blind is always there. But the chances of returning one-eyed persons as totally blind are comparatively few. For, though the Gujarati equivalent for the blind (*andhalo*) may, by some loose interpretation, be stretched to include those who cannot see properly, the term used for the one-eyed (*kano*) is unambiguous, and cannot be misused. The returns of blindness are, therefore, on the whole more truthful and reliable than those of other infirmities.

As against 1,319 returned as blind in 1921, there are 2,297 in 1931. There is thus an excess of 978 persons over the figure of the blind estimated in 1921, which is due to improved enumeration and the inclusion of persons with imperfect vision. Nearly three-fourths of the afflicted population is blind. At the present Census, in every hundred thousand of the population, there are 459 blind, as against 309 in 1921. The marginal table supplies separately the ratios for both the sexes for the last two enumerations, which are 342 and 583 for males and females respectively for 1931. It will be interesting to learn that the incidence of blindness for the Kathiawad Division of the Baroda State as shown by the recent Census are 305 males and 599 females per 1,00,000 of its population. These proportions do not materially differ from those of this State.

Year	Actual figures		Proportion per 1,00,000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1921	515	804	234	390
1931	879	1,418	342	583

182. Local Distribution.—It has been held that the variations in the regional distribution of this infirmity are brought about by climatic and physical considerations. Blindness is far more common in tropical countries than in those with

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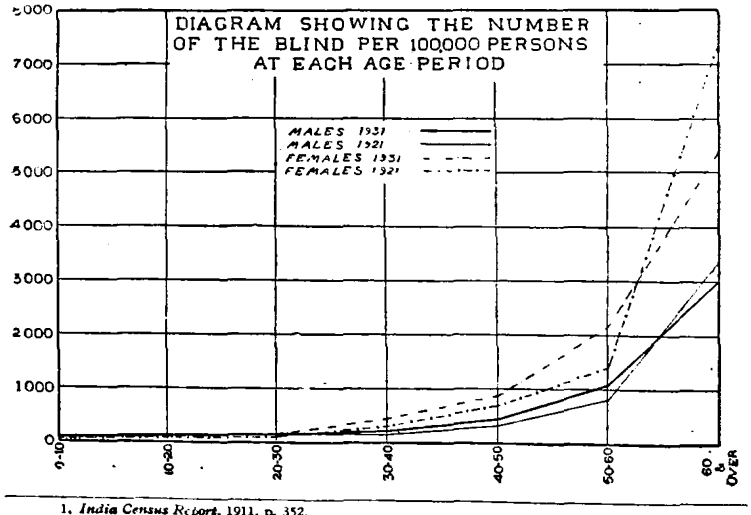
temperate climate and its prevalence varies inversely with the rainfall.[1] It appears to be common in tracts with a dry hot climate and a dusty soil.

> "The glaring sunshine and dust-laden winds of the hot weather cause inflammation of the eyes, which frequently result in ulceration and permanent injury.....But the smoky atmosphere inside the small dark ill-ventilated houses and huts is also a frequent cause of affections of the eyes, resulting in blindness."[2]

The late Mr. Sedgwick, commenting in 1921 upon the comparatively high proportion of the blind in the Konkan Districts, points out that a large part of the population lives on the Coast, which except in Kanara, is bare of trees, and signalised by a high degree of glare from sea, sandy shore, and salt flat. The territorial distribution is, therefore, the resultant of a variety of causes not having the same effect in all the places. The nearness of the sea-coast which may in one locality reduce the proportion by lowering the temperature, may increase it in another by exposing people to the heat radiating from sandy and barren soil. But in the absence of any marked differences of physical constitution and climate which are roughly speaking the same all over the State, it is difficult to estimate the influence of these factors on the proportions of such small units as the Mahals. This view is amply justified by the marginal statement which is, nevertheless, capable of supporting some broad conclusions. The ratio ranges from 249 for the Mahal of Daskroi to 667 for the Mahal of Victor. The area of greater prevalence is covered by the hilly and coastal Mahals of Victor, Kundla, Sihor and Mahuva, as also by the dry and hot Mahals of Lilia, Umrala and Gadhada. The very high ratio for Lilia may be due to its black soil which absorbs greater heat and reacts injuriously upon the eyes of the people. But the low ratios for Daskroi and Talaja are significant, and are due to their comparatively temparate climate and higher rainfall. The relatively greater proportion of the blind in the State is explained by the general sparseness of green vegetation and hot climate of the Peninsula.

Mahal	Blind per 1,00,000 of the population
State ...	**459**
Daskroi ...	249
Sihor ...	537
Umrala ...	599
Gadhada ...	422
Botad ...	401
Lilia ...	617
Kundla ...	551
Victor ...	667
Mahuva ...	507
Talaja ...	406

183. Distribution by Age and Sex.—Blindness appears to be the only infirmity which shows a higher proportion of female defectives. There are



1. *India Census Report*, 1911, p. 352.
2. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 212.

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1,613 females to every 1,000 males that suffer from this affliction. But the male proportions are in preponderance upto the age of 25 after which the females are progressively on the increase. In every hundred thousand of the blind of each sex, there are 71 males as against 55 females below the age of 25, similar proportions for ages over 25 being 270 and 527. Living in dark, and badly ventilated rooms, and cooking food against the smoke tend to impair the eye-sight of the women-folk whose unwillingness to take recourse to immediate medical help and put on spectacles as a preventive measure make them easier prey to blindness. But men live and work for the most part in the open, and are, therefore, less prone to suffer from this defect than women. Analysing the figures by age, it comes to be noticed that the number of the congenitally blind is very small, 45 or 1·9 per cent. only being attacked by the infirmity in the age group 0-5. Of the total blind population, 11 per cent. are aged below 20 years, 28 per cent. are between the ages of 20 and 50, and as many as nearly 61 per cent. are over 50 years. Thus a vast majority of the blind belongs to later age periods, as blindness is essentially a disease of advanced ages which are marked by low vitality and weak health resulting in the loss of eye-sight. It is thus a disease of the adult and old people. Moreover, cataract which appears late in life is also one of the most potent factors that bring about blindness.

184. Blindness by Caste.—The margin compares the numbers of the blind in every hundred thousand of some of the main castes. The ratios range from 288 for the Memons to 856 for the Bavas. The varying effects of the social and economic environments as represented by their rank in society and occupations in which they are employed are distinctly reflected in their proportions of the blind. The higher classes of society suffer less from this infirmity than the lower. Among the Hindus such castes as the Brahmans, Vanias, Rajputs and Kathis who stand higher in the social heirarchy possess low ratios. But the comparatively high ratio of the Branmans amongst the higher caste Hindus, is due to the inclusion among them of the members of the cooking profession whose commerce with smoke and heat impairs their eye-sight. The straining effects on the eyes of certain professions are disclosed by the high proportions of the blind amongst the Sonis, Luhars, Kumbhars, Mochis, and Ghanchis. The relatively higher proportions of the blind among some of the lower classes as the Ahirs, Bharwads, Rabaris, Kanbis and Dheds which range from 509 to 708 suggest that dust and sunshine to which their professions expose them have harmful effects upon their eyes. The relatively lower proportion (323) of the blind among the Kolis seems to be due their aboriginal descent. The infirmities appear to have a specially low selection for this tribe, as their proportion of the insane is also much less than that of other lower castes. But the proportion of the blind among the Bavas is the highest owing to the practice among them of destroying their vision to excite public sympathy and their habit of sitting constantly near smoky fire.

Caste	Proportion of blind per 1,00,000 of each caste
Ahir ...	708
Bava ...	856
Bharwad ...	583
Brahman ...	458
Dhed ...	594
Kanbi ...	509
Kathi ...	323
Koli ...	350
Kumbhar ...	658
Luhar ...	651
Mochi ...	543
Rabari ...	603
Rajput ...	389
Soni ...	749
Sutar ...	488
Vania ...	340
Ghanchi ...	511
Khoja ...	302
Memon ...	288

SECTION V—LEPROSY

185. Leprosy.—Of all the statistics collected for the purposes of the Infirmity Table, those coming under the head of leprosy are the most unreliable. The errors both of incorrect diagnosis and deliberate concealment are, in its case, far greater than in that of any other infirmity. This will be seen from the

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marginal table as also from comparatively low proportions of the leprous males and females in the State. As against 27 lepers returned in 1921 there are 53 in 1931. The returns of leprosy have nearly doubled during the last ten years, and the hiding of the disease has to that extent been less. In the State as a whole there are at the present Census 15 male and 6 female lepers per hundred thousand persons of each sex. The corresponding male proportions for India as a whole and the Province of Bombay in 1921 were 46 and 48 respectively, the female proportions being only 18 and 23 respectively. Though it may be that some of the difference between the State and the latter figures is genuine, much of it is due to the greater concealment of the affliction in the State than elsewhere. Ignorance of the disease and the shame at having contracted such a loathsome disease block the way of accurate statistics. Usually it is difficult for a layman to distinguish leprosy from other diseases, such as leucoderma, yaws and syphilis. While pointing out the difficulty that lies in the way of correct diagnosis, Dr. Muir, Superintendent of the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Calcutta, wrote :—

Year	Lepers			
	Actual Figures		Proportion per 1,00,000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1921 ...	19	8	9	4
1931 ...	38	15	15	6

"The fact is that as with tuberculosis, a great many people are infected with leprosy and never know that they have it, as the disease is difficult to diagnose in the early stages to those who are not expert and there may be no marked pain, disfigurement or other inconvenience until the disease is far advanced. Many of such people are going about, some of them doing no harm, but others again spreading infection broad cast." [1]

That there are systematic attempts at deliberate concealment will be seen from the very low proportion of lepers. The knowledge of its existence is purposely withheld from the public by the women of the higher classes of society. It is, however, not possible to estimate the extent to which the affliction is consciously concealed, or the extent to which the figures are deficient owing to the lack of proper analysis. Unlike blindness and deaf-mutism whose returns of later age periods are inflated owing to incorrect diagnosis, the figures of leprosy err on the side of under-statement. Only those suffering from the virulent type of the disease and having no motive for its concealment are, therefore, returned as leprous.

186. Distribution by Mahal.—Little interest attaches to the territorial distribution of leprosy which is found under all sorts of climatic conditions and on all kinds of geological strata. The factors that determine its distribution are, therefore, neither physical nor racial but social. A reference to the marginal statement giving the proportionate figures side by side with the absolute shows that the disease is not at all to be found in the Mahal of Botad. The City of Bhavnagar is also returned as singularly free from leprosy. The Mahals of the Northern Division appear on the whole to be less afflicted than those of the Southern.

Mahal	Actual Figures	Number afflicted per 1,00,000 of population
State ...	53	11
Daskroi ...	9	8
Shior ...	4	12
Umrala ...	2	6
Gadhada ...	1	4
Botad ...	...	...
Lilia ...	3	12
Kundla ...	11	13
Victor ...	5	20
Mahuva ...	9	11
Talaja ...	9	18

187. Leprosy by Sex and Age.—The greater female concealment of leprosy is revealed by the sex ratio which gives 395 females to 1,000 male lepers. The great difference though due to secrecy which can be more easily practised by females than males, is also due to the greater male liability. For, men travel more than women, and are, therefore, more prone to contract the disease than

1. Quoted in the *India Census Report, 1921*, p. 213.

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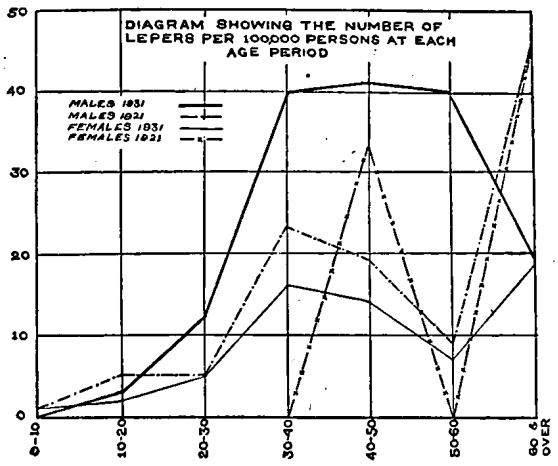
the latter. Both the male and female proportions are in ascendant upto the age of 40 years after which they gradually decline. A reference to the age-group 0-5 shows that no person has been returned as congenitally leprous. The diagram in the margin shows a greater consistency about the male curve than the female owing to the less degree of concealment which surrounds the male figures. In the case of males, the lesser longevity of the infirm makes the curve fall sharply after the age of 60. But a mistaken tendency is, however, exhibited by the female curve travelling upwards after the age of 60 owing to the reason noted before. A comparison with the 1921 curves discloses the incompleteness and the comparative inaccuracy of the figures then collected. In that year, the only age periods in which the female lepers were returned, were 40–50 and 60 and over. Again, even the male curve in 1921 rises steeply after the age of 60, instead of falling down as should have been the case, as in 1931.



188. Leprosy by Caste.—The disease is associated with uncleanliness, squalor and poverty, and is, therefore, found to prevail among those persons who pay no regard to personal cleanliness and are indifferent to principles of hygiene. It is, therefore, more common among the lower strata of society who live under filthy and insanitary conditions. The marginal table supplies the proportions of lepers per hundred thousand of each caste. The infection prevails to a greater extent among the lower than the upper classes. The higher castes such as the Rajputs, Luhanas, Sonis and Sutars have been returned as completely free from the infection. The Parsis, and among the Muslims the trader class of Memons have also no leper returned. So apart from showing some confirmity to the general rule set out above as to the prevalence of the infimity, the figures should be used with some reserve, in asmuchas the degree of concealment is not the same in the case of all of them.

Caste	Proportion of leper per 1,00,000 of each caste
State ...	**11**
Bava ...	25
Bharwad ...	7
Brahman and Vania ...	10
Hajam ...	14
Kanbi ...	7
Kathi ...	32
Koli ...	20
Kumbhar ...	22
Pancholi ...	23
Ghanchi ...	36
Khoja ...	12
Sindhi ...	41
Sipai ...	12
Chamar, Rajput, Sutar, Dhed, Luhana, Memon, Darji, Soni and Parsi ...	...

189. Treatment.—Prevention is better than cure. Leprosy can be spread by direct and indirect infection broadcasted by the afflicted. The leprous are, therefore, compulsorily segregated in some places in separate settlements and asylums to prevent the infection from spreading. In the earlier stages of the disease the ethylester of the Indian drug, ***chaulmoogra*** oil had been found to be a very efficacious curative medicine. But Dr. Muir has adopted a new substance, sodium hydrocarpate, as part of the routine treatment which has been found to be cheap, easy to administer and very effective.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 1,00,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST TWO CENSUSES

MAHAL	INSANE				DEAF-MUTE				BLIND				LEPER			
	Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*	1931	1921*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Bhavnagar State	**79**	**82**	**37**	**25**	**72**	**103**	**47**	**94**	**342**	**234**	**583**	**390**	**15**	**9**	**6**	
Daskroi ...	114	...	37	...	64	...	27	...	196	...	307	...	11	...	6	...
Sihor ...	92	...	53	...	69	...	12	...	379	...	697	...	23	...	...	...
Umrala ...	60	...	30	...	49	...	30	...	465	...	745	...	11	...	...	...
Gadhada ...	66	...	36	...	83	...	36	...	208	...	652	...	...	...	9	...
Botad ...	64	...	40	...	59	...	63	...	267	...	545	...	...	...	...	...
Lilia ...	39	...	41	...	70	...	32	...	410	...	834	...	...	...	24	...
Kundla ...	50	...	30	...	69	...	42	...	412	...	696	...	17	...	10	...
Victor ...	80	...	67	...	32	...	92	...	530	...	809	..	32	...	8	...
Mahuva ...	73	...	32	...	85	...	51	...	405	...	612	...	2	...	5	...
Talaja ...	96	...	33	...	112	...	108	...	321	...	496	...	32	...	4	...

*NOTE.—Figures for 1921 by Mahals are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX (*Five censuses*)*

AGE	INSANE				DEAF-MUTE				BLIND				LEPER			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
0-5	50	...	111	...	543	575	696	773	262	388	155	162	...	...	...	...
5-10	594	...	333	577	1,576	797	1,739	825	523	563	205	237	...	526	667	...
10-15	891	702	778	385	1,576	752	1,565	722	512	602	219	235	...	526	...	...
15-20	1,188	965	1,000	385	1,141	75[illegible]	956	155	387	311	191	174	526	526	667	...
20-25	1,139	1,228	778	769	1,087	1,150	870	464	410	602	183	174	526	526	667	...
25-30	1,168	2,018	1,000	1,731	815	708	1,043	928	307	602	275	349	790	526	667	...
30-35	1,436	877	889	1,154	870	929	956	825	398	308	495	610	1,316	2,105	1,333	...
35-40	1,238	1,228	1,111	769	707	797	783	412	501	544	606	423	2,105	1,579	2,000	...
40-45	841	1,140	1,444	577	489	708	522	567	501	602	585	759	1,579	1,053	666	1,250
45-50	594	702	1,000	577	381	487	261	515	705	718	790	821	1,052	1,053	1,333	6,250
50-55	445	351	445	1,538	217	620	174	567	739	1,243	867	1,367	790	527	667	...
55-60	248	175	444	...	272	310	87	309	1,137	563	1,319	597	790	...	...	...
60 and over	148	614	667	1,538	326	1,415	348	2,938	3,618	2,854	4,210	4,092	526	1,053	1,333	2,500

*NOTE.—As the Infirmity Table showing the statistics by age was compiled for the first time in 1921, figures prior to that are not available.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 1,00,000 PERSONS OF EACH AGE-PERIOD AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES

AGE	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 1,00,000								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES			
	INSANE		Deaf-Mute		BLIND		LEPER		Insane	Deaf-Mute	Blind	Leper
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Total ...	79	37	72	47	342	583	15	6	446	625	1,613	395
0-5	3	3	25	20	58	55	...	...	1,000	800	957	...
5-10	33	9	80	61	127	88	...	3	250	690	630	...
10-15	54	24	87	62	135	106	...	...	389	622	689	...
15-20	97	40	85	49	137	119	8	4	375	424	794	500
20-25	99	31	87	45	156	117	9	4	304	500	722	500
25-30	133	51	83	58	149	222	17	6	375	800	1,444	333
30-35	170	49	94	66	204	341	29	12	276	688	1,600	400
35-40	164	68	85	61	288	587	52	20	400	692	1,955	375
40-45	129	104	68	48	333	667	46	8	765	667	1,886	167
45-50	109	93	64	31	565	1,155	36	21	750	429	1,806	500
50-55	103	51	46	26	744	1,580	34	13	444	500	1,892	333
55-60	73	61	78	15	1,718	2,712	47	...	800	200	1,870	...
60 and over	28	54	57	36	3,016	5,391	19	18	2,000	667	1,877	100

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CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATION

SECTION I—THE BASIS OF THE FIGURES

190. Scope of Enquiry.—The statistics of the means of livelihood that support the people of the State are of great economic significance. In certain advanced countries like the U. S. A., these statistics are obtained by organizing a special Census of occupations. In others like India and Great Britain, the occupational census is combined with the population census by providing columns for the entry of details regarding the vocations and industries of the people in the general schedule. These columns have undergone substantial changes from Census to Census until the last which introduced further innovations, not only by increasing the number of occupation columns from 3 in 1921 to 4 in 1931, but also by introducing certain fundamental changes in the nature and details of the returns. These will be clearly understood from a comparative study of the occupation columns of the last two enumerations given below.

CENSUS 1921

Occupation or Means of Subsistence of Actual Workers		For dependants the occupation of the worker by whom supported
Principal	Subsidiary	
9	10	11

CENSUS 1931

Earner or Dependant	Principal occupation (This will be blank for dependant)	Subsidiary Occupation (Occupation of dependants may be given)	Industry in which employed (for organized employees only)
9	10	11	12

In order that the nature of the present record of occupations can be properly distinguished from the past, it is necessary to notice the changes introduced in the classification of 1921. First, the 'earners' of 1931 do not precisely correspond with the 'actual workers' of 1921. Secondly, the distribution of totally dependants by occupation has been dispensed with on this occasion. Thirdly, a novel distinction of dependants into (*i*) working dependants and (*ii*) non-working dependants has, for the first time, been introduced. Column 12 is an addition made for the purpose of doing away with the industrial Census separately taken in 1921. It aims at collecting figures of employees in various organized industries. But the consideration of this column may be brushed aside by saying that under instructions from the Provincial Superintendent, no use has been made of it, and that the entries made therein have not been abstracted. The three-fold division

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of earner, working dependant and non-working or totally dependant as contrasted with the old two-fold classification of actual workers and dependants results from an attempt to separate those who are independent earners and get separate wages in cash or kind as also those who are doing permanent and regular work in the family from those who merely render occasional or part time help. All the latter are on the present occasion treated as working dependants, while some of them would have gone on to swell the ranks of actual workers in 1921. The following instructions laid down in the Code explain these differences:—

"Column (9).—Only those women and children will be shown as earners who help to augment the family income by permanent and regular work for which a return is obtained in cash or in kind. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not an earner but a dependant. But a woman who habitually collects and sells firewood or cowdung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as an earner. A woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (e. g. the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots) as an all time assistant, is an earner but one who merely renders a little occasional help is not. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependant, but one who is a regular cowherd and earns pay as such in cash or in kind should be recorded as such in column 10. It may be assumed, as a rough and ready rule that boys and girls over the age of 10 who actually do field labour or tend cattle are adding to the income of their family and should therefore, be entered in column 10 or 11 according to whether they earn pay or not. Boys, in a school or college should be entered as dependants. Dependants who assist in the work of the family and contribute to its support without actually earning wages should be shown as dependants in column 9 and under subsidiary occupation in column 11. Thus a woman who keeps house for her husband is a dependant and entered as such in column 9, but has the subsidiary occupation, column 11, of house-keeping. Similarly, weaving is often an important subsidiary occupation for woman dependants in some places and should be entered in column 11, where it may, or may not, have to take the place of house-keeping. Only the most important subsidiary occupation should be given. Prisoners in Jail who are likely to be released before 26th February 1931, should not be entered. In column 11 of the schedule, prisoners should be classed as convicts R. I. or S. I. as the case may be or Civil Prisoners. Their previous occupation should not be shown and they should be shown in column 9 as dependants."

It will be thus seen that while in 1921, those women and children who helped to augment the family income by regular work–though working part time–were to be entered as actual workers, would in 1931 be treated as working dependants, if the return for the work be not in cash or kind. A member of the family partially assisting the family business who formerly figured as a worker was now recorded as a dependant, an entry relating to whose occupation was made in column 11 recording the subsidiary means of subsistence. The most important test governing this classification was (a) permanent and regular nature of work, and (b) the earning of remuneration which may be either in cash or kind. Totally dependants are the same in both the cases, but as functional distribution of non-working dependants is not shown no comparison with the past figures is possible. Again while the working dependants appear on the scene for the first time, earners do not correspond with the workers of 1921. Lastly, the total following each particular occupation in 1931 also do not precisely correspond with those in 1921. For, while the former supply figures of (*i*) earners, principal occupaiton, *plus* working dependants, and (*ii*) earners, subsidiary occupation, the latter statistics refer to workers excluding dependants. These then are the various entries that were made in the occupational columns of the general schedule, and the departures made from 1921.

191. Reference to Statistics.—The data thus recorded were compiled in Imperial Tables X and XI. Table X is the General Table showing the distribution of the total population of the State and the City into various groups of occupations classified under the Bertillon Scheme to be considered hereafter. Table XI–Occupation by Caste, Tribe or Race is divided into two parts. Part A records the occupations of certain selected functional castes and enables one to gauge the working of the tendency that exists amongst most of them to leave their hereditary callings for others more paying and lucrative. Part B distributes Workers in

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certain groups of Occupation by Caste, Tribe or Race, and is sub-divided into two parts showing separately the distribution of (*i*) earners and (*ii*) working dependants. Imperial Table XII-Parts A and B should be also mentioned. It is of a negative nature, in that it furnishes figures not of the occupied but of those educated who are unoccupied or unemployed, and is compiled from the special unemployment schedules. Its two parts respectively show educated unemployment by class and degree. One further table that requires to be mentioned in this connection is the one that will be inserted at the end of the Chapter and supplies the statistics of home industries. It has been prepared from the special Block Registers filled in by the enumerators. The numerous marginal and some lengthy Subsidiary Tables that have been compiled will be discussed in their proper places.

192. Scheme of Classification.—Any discussion as to the value of the vast statistical information furnished by the foregoing tables should be preceded by an exposition of the manner in which they are presented. The Census schedules show a very large variety of occupations which support the people of the State. And unless they are classified under some comprehensive scheme of occupations, no useful deductions can be made. The present scheme, well-known as the Bertillon Scheme of classification of occupations, is based on a system devised by Dr. Jacques Bertillon. It was for the first time adopted by the Indian Census with some minor modifications since 1911, prior to which the classification adhered to the English Scheme with as many as 520 groups. But the present scheme arranges the occupations under four classes, twelve sub-classes, fifty-five orders and 195 groups. The classes and sub-classes given below will be helpful in explaining the main idea of the Scheme.

Class	Sub-class	
A. Production of Raw Materials	I.	Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation
	II.	Exploitation of Minerals
B. Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	III.	Industry
	IV.	Transport
	V.	Trade
C. Public Administration and Liberal Arts	VI.	Public Force
	VII.	Public Administration
	VIII.	Professions and Liberal Arts
D. Miscellaneous	IX.	Persons living on their Income
	X.	Domestic service
	XI.	Insufficiently described occupations
	XII.	Unproductive

It will appear at a glance that the production of raw materials which must precede the preparation and then the supply of material substances is assigned to Class A, and the latter to Class B. The exploitation of animals and vegetation is far more important than the exploitation of minerals. Hence the second place assigned to the latter. But before the articles are transported and sold by traders, they must be manufactured in industrial establishments. The problem of defence and administration arises after the property comes into being, the professions and liberal arts being promoted by the sense of security harboured by the former. The rest are grouped under the sub-classes of Class D–Miscellaneous. The classes and sub-classes thus occur in the order of their importance in the scheme of production and distribution.

So much for the scheme. But the task of assigning proper groups to occupations before placing them under their relevant orders was by no means easy. The Code recognised this difficulty, when it drew attention of the sorter to its 'difficult and complicated' nature. Though the elaborate Alphabetical Index of Occupations given in the Code supplied every material assistance in assigning the

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numerous occupations to their appropriate groups, the possibility of grouping certain occupations under more than one head rendered a correct classification somewhat difficult. Added to these were the initial mistakes in the entries made by the enumerators, and the different names under which certain occupations as 'herdsmen', 'cattle-tenderer', or 'cowherd' could be returned. The subsequent work of compilation was, however, made easier by the device of printing on the Sorter's Tickets all the occupational groups and their numbers in the scheme in the order of their frequency. The main principles which were to be borne in mind during the process of classification were clearly laid down in the note appended to the Code. It said :—

"(1) Where a person both makes and sells he is classed as a 'maker'. On the same principle, when a person extracts some substance, such as saltpetre, sulphur, carbonate of soda, etc., from the ground and also refines it, he is shown in Sub-class II–Exploitation of Minerals, and not in Sub-class III–Industry.

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided into two main categories :—

(*a*) those where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and

(*b*) those where it is classified according to the use which it serves.

As a general rule the first category is reserved for the manufacture or sale of articles the use of which is not finally determined, but it also includes specified articles for which there is no appropriate head in the second category. For example while Shoemakers are included in the second category (Order 12, Group 82), the makers of waterbags, saddlery, leather portmanteau and the like are included in the first category (Order 6, Group 51)."

It further instructed:—

"As a general rule it may be said that wherever a man's personal occupation is one which involves special training, *e.g.*, that of a doctor, engineer, surveyor, etc., he is classed under the head reserved for that occupation. Exceptions have been made, however, in the cases where the work in which he is employed involves further specialization. For this reason a marine engineer is classed in Group 102 and a river surveyor in Group 103. Officers of Government whose occupation is covered by some other Group (*e.g.*, doctors, clergymen, professors, postal, forest settlement and railway officers and other establishments, etc., will be included in that Group and not under Group 159. Government peons and chaprasis other than those in the abovementioned establishments will be included under this Group and not in Group 111."

193. Changes in Classification.—The number of groups has increased from 191 in 1921 to 195 in 1931. The rise is not due to any material changes made in the system, but results from a few adjustments in and regrouping of the classification. The note referred to above describes them as under :—

"A certain number of changes should be noted from the classification laid down at last census. Thus persons employed in public entertainment appeared in Group 101, Order 18, at last census, but are classified now in Group 183 in Order 49; saddle cloth makers have been transferred from leather work to embroidery and saddle cloth sellers in means of transport (1) to trade in textiles; witches and wizards have been moved up from Sub-class XII, *unproductive* to Sub-class VIII, *Profession* and *Liberal Arts* (Group 181) where they are at least as suitably kennelled as astrologers and mediums; "Grasshopper" sellers, classified last time under "trade of other sorts", will now appear under "trade in food-stuffs". Such changes may be noted when redrafting the vernacular tables. Those abovementioned are by no means the only ones, as some groups have been amalgamated, as in the case of building trades, while others have been split up, *e.g.*, production and trade in tobacco, opium and hemp. Indeed, owing to the rearrangement of Sub-class II one order has disappeared so that there are now only 55 instead of 56 and from Order 3 onwards the numbering does not tally with that of 1921."

194. Accuracy of Occupation Returns.—It will now be worthwhile to consider the relative completeness and accuracy of the record of occupations in order to estimate the value to be attached to the statistics that will now be discussed. Occupation record is the stumbling block of the Census not only in this

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State, but also in western countries where the Census machinery has long been perfected. Difficulties, however, arise from an attempt to combine the figures of population with those of occupations. The latter is a special and technical kind of enquiry which should from its very nature be carried out independently of the former. The demand which it makes upon the diligence and industry of the enumerators in distinguishing between the various grades of workers and different kinds of occupations can hardly be expected from ordinary Census workers who are not intelligent enough to grasp those subtle distinctions which must be made, if a proper return is to be obtained. Though the instructions given by the Code were further supplemented by detailed circulars and oral explanations given to the Census staff, it was not possible to remove that disconcerting feature of the record, *viz.*, the entry of such vague and indefinite terms as *vepar* (trade), *majuri* (labour) and *nokari* (service). The injunction to state 'the exact kind of labour or service, and the nature of goods sold' was in many cases disobeyed, and the usual tendency to use the unspecified terms aforesaid featured as prominently as ever. An examination of groups 129 and 134 showing respectively the well-defined occupations like 'grain and pulse dealers' and 'dealers in other food stuffs' and the unspecified groups like 'unspecified general storekeepers and shop-keepers' (150), and 'labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified' (191) does not disclose any improvement upon the returns of the last Census. On the contrary there is some slight, though negligible, increase in the number of the unspecified entries as returned in 1921. This inexact aspect of the occupation record generally comes from the rather unsatisfactory nature of the agency that is made use of for the purpose. To an ordinary layman, unknown to the scheme of classification, the details required and the finer distinctions drawn are not properly intelligible, and so in the absence of any precise knowledge on his part of the scheme and its purpose, no great blame can be put upon his shoulders for the shortcomings aforesaid. Even very careful supervision and inspection will fail to achieve their object under these circumstances. It will, therefore, be a great help to the future workers if a skeleton of the system of classification and the purpose of details be explained to them with especial reference to the difficulties that are experienced at the stage of sorting and compilation owing to the incompleteness of the record. The statistics as finally tabulated could have been made to appear less unspecified and somewhat more definite by the use of the general discretion left to the Superintendents in this behalf. For, the labourers in rural areas could have been grouped as agricultural labourers and the shop-keepers in villages treated as grain and pulse dealers. But recourse has not been taken to such a device with a view to draw pointed attention to the discrepancies that usually occur as also to enable the reader to estimate for himself the value to be attached to the figures supplied. In the course of our discussion of the different groups, such posibilities will, however, be referred to wherever necessary.

195. Earner, Working Dependant and Non-Working Dependant.—The position of non-working dependants has been already noticed, and as their figures are not distributed as on the last occasion by each group of occupations, they should not detain us any longer. The changes that govern the classification of the working population into 'earners' and 'working dependants' and the departures made from the previous Censuses have already been considered before. It now remains to be seen how far the distinctions made on the present occasion have been actually translated into action. The instructions were copious and specific, and the entry of earners presented little difficulty. For, the alternative tests of material remuneration that is of payment in cash or kind irrespective of the time devoted, and whole time regular assistance in the case of the member of a family were on the whole properly understood. But some difficulty seems to have been perceived in making a proper distinction between an earning member of the family and one who is to be deemed dependant, though helping the family, owing to the irregular and occasional nature of the assistance rendered by him. Not a few cases were detected in which all the adult members of the family, though fully participating in the joint family and regularly devoting

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equal time and energies to the family occupation as its head were treated as working dependants. Such mistakes were rectified after due regard to the age and education of the person concerned. Another source of error lay in the discretion that must inevitably remain with the enumerator in deciding as to whether a particular individual should be deemed (*a*) to augment the family income by permanent and regular work in the family occupation, and therefore, treated as an earner or (*b*) to render only part time help, and therefore, shown as a working dependant. In such cases, it is not possible to draw a line between the two stages, *viz.*, (*i*) where a person ceases to be a working dependant, and (*ii*) where he begins to be an earner. Sometimes it is merely a matter of opinion either of the enumerator or of the enumerated. It may be that a man may be working at a business regularly, and yet the former may take him to render mere occasional help. It may also be that he may be assisting only casually, and yet the more ambitious nature of the latter may impel him to be reckoned as an earner. Similar mistakes would also occur with regard to the entry of totally dependants and working dependants. Mention must be also made of the occupations of the agriculturist working dependants. The vernacular entry in Column 11 was *kheti mā madad, i.e.*, assisting in agriculture. These slips were copied as agricultural labour. In this connection, it must be noted that the peasant's wife who assists her husband in agricultural operations in various ways, undoubtedly enables him to do away with a certain amount of hired labour which he would have to otherwise employ. But she does not properly fall under the category of a labourer doing regular work and earning wages. Such working dependants, therefore, as are assisting the family business or occupation as working dependants should be regarded to follow the occupation of the head of the family. So the group under which the wife of the agriculturist should appear, will be 5 or 6 to which the latter belongs. This aspect of the working dependency of agricultural labour will be considered while dealing with group 7.

196. Subsidiary Occupations.—The records of subsidiary occupations are far less accurate and complete. The following instructions in the Code were not fully borne in mind by the enumerators:—

"Column (11).—Where a man has two occupations, the principal one is that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income. A subsidiary occupation should be entered, if followed at any time of the year. Only one subsidiary occupation (the most important one) should be entered in Column 11."

The instructions were clear and simple and should have left no room for doubt as regards the subsidiary or secondary means of livelihood of the persons enumerated. But it has been the standing grievance against these returns that they have been always far from satisfactory. This will be clearly understood from the fact that only 1,957 males and 86 females have got their subsidiary occupations recorded. That this is far from the truth will be seen from the fact that there is a large number of persons who work at different occupations at different times of the year. This is more particularly the case with a host of labourers who get their livelihood from non-agricultural occupations when field labour no longer supports them. A mistake of this kind occurs from the fact that one is apt to have uppermost in his mind that occupation which he is for the time being plying, sufficient stress being not laid upon the fact that any other which is followed at any other time of the year should also be entered as a subsidiary occupation. The popular impression seems to be that in order that a secondary occupation may be returned, a person must be carrying on two avocations simultaneously, and for all the time. The secondary occupation, therefore, that is practised for only some time is generally lost sight of. It is also a well-known fact that most of the village shop-keepers who combine within themselves the business of a grain and pulse dealer and of a general provision merchant are also money-lenders. And yet the persons who have returned money-lending as a subsidiary occupation number only 144. But it is not the rural shop-keeper alone who supplements his earnings by

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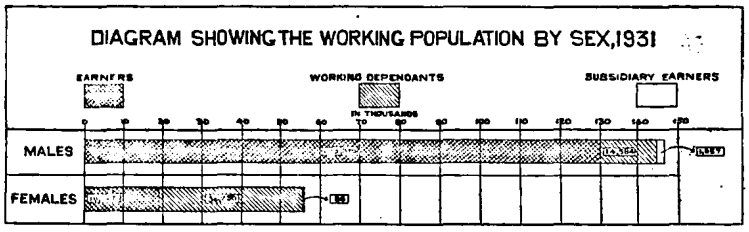
money-lending which has been found to exist in the State with every sort of occupation. Even an agriculturist who is proverbially poor and on the look-out for credit is sometimes seen to be lending money. In these days where the profession of money-lending is highly prized, the ability to make it available to others is regarded to enhance the importance not only of the occupation, but also of the occupied. Every man of every caste and creed is, therefore, observed to do some sort of money-lending business. And when this fact is borne in mind, one hestitates to credit the statistics of subsidiary occupations with the necessary degree of accuracy which should enable their being used with advantage.

Subject to these observations, the return of occupations that support the people of the State furnishes a very useful and valuable indication as to the functional distribution of the population into such broad divisions as classes, subclasses and most of the orders. But for the purposes of their analysis by individual groups, their utility seems to be somewhat doubtful.

Section II—General Review of Occupational Returns

197. The Main Statistics.—The principal occupational statistics will now be compared by sub-class and then by the main occupations, so far as comparison is possible. For, attention has already been invited to the fact that the statistics of the supported population for the past two enumerations do not precisely correspond. But that does not detract from the value of the figures which do not disclose any marked divergence in the functional distribution of the people of the State. As the returns of subsidiary occupations are very sparse, so far as this State is concerned, the variations in the figures of the last two Censuses may be compared with advantage. It must be, however, mentioned that while the figures of those supported in 1921 do not precisely correspond with those supported in 1931, the figures of actual workers in 1921 may well be taken to roughly correspond with the total of earners, working dependants, and subsidiary earners, *i.e.*, with the total following each group of occupations in 1931. The diagram below shows the working population by sex returned at the current Census.



The following statement shows the population supported in 1921 and 1931, and the general distribution of the population by occupations. Percentages of variation are also shown.

No.	Sub-Class	Population supported in 1931	Population supported in 1921	Percentage of variation from 1921	Occupational distribution per 1,000
I	Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	1,13,713	62,358	+82·3	562
II	Exploitation of Minerals	624	361	+72·8	3
III	Industry	27,748	22,866	+21·3	137
IV	Transport	5,008	5,784	—13·4	24
V	Trade	19,717	14,769	+33·8	97
VI	Public Force	2,475	2,485	—0·4	12
VII	Public Administration	4,447	3,320	+33·9	26
VIII	Professions and Liberal Arts	8,514	8,814	—3·4	42
IX	Persons living on their income	773	318	+143·0	3
X	Domestic service	2,344	2,271	+3·2	11
XI	Insufficiently described occupations	16,206	16,172	+0·2	80
XII	Unproductive	714	394	+81·2	3

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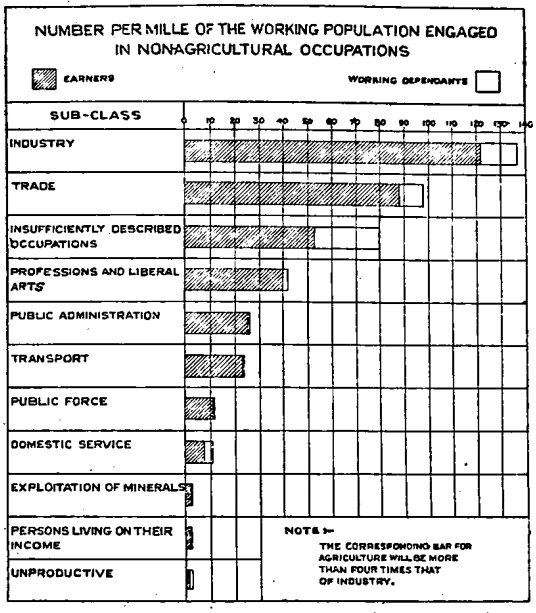
In the general population, 1,50,949 or 30 per cent. are earners, 51,334 or 10 per cent. are working dependants and the remaining 2,97,991 or 60 per cent. are non-working dependants. A relatively greater proportion of non-working dependants results from the changes in the age constitution which shows 48 per cent. of the population between the ages of 15 and 50, the rest of the 52 per cent. in the early and later age periods being unproductive. The seclusion of women prevails to a greater extent in the Peninsula than in other parts either of the Bombay Presidency or Gujarat. Added to it is the common belief that the proper sphere of woman's activities is the home, which takes away a substantial section of the population from being employed usefully. Agriculture is the dominant industry of the State and claims 1,13,713 or 562 per mille of the workers.* The agricultural workers would still register a rise, if the unspecified labourers most of whom are working in rural areas and doing field labour were definitely returned. Industry claims 27,748 or nearly 14 per cent. of the supported or working population. In alliance with trade which occupies 19,717 or 97 per 1,000 of the supported, the share of these two important non-agricultural occupations would come to 23 per cent. Exploitation of non-metallic minerals which include stone and salt supports only 624 or ·3 per cent. But while 5,008 or 2·4 per cent. are occupied in transport, 2,475 or 1·2 per cent. and 4,447 or 2·6 per cent. are engaged in the public force and public administration respectively. Professions and liberal arts support no less than 8,514 or 4·2 per cent. But while the persons living on their income number 773, those of the unproductive classes consisting mainly of inmates of Jails, beggars and vagrants number 714. Domestic servants number 2,344, but that bug-bear of the Census, *viz.*, insufficiently described occupations which include manufacturers, businessmen and contractors, clerks and book-keepers and for the most part labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified (15,237) supports as many as 16,206 or 8. per cent.


NUMBER PER MILLE OF THE WORKING POPULATION ENGAGED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS
EARNERS
WORKING DEPENDANTS
SUB-CLASS
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140
INDUSTRY
TRADE
INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS
PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
TRANSPORT
PUBLIC FORCE
DOMESTIC SERVICE
EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS
PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME
UNPRODUCTIVE
NOTE :- THE CORRESPONDING BAR FOR AGRICULTURE WILL BE MORE THAN FOUR TIMES THAT OF INDUSTRY.

Since 1921, all the sub-classes but (*i*) transport which has substantially declined from 5,784 to 5,008, (*ii*) public force which has remained stationary, and (*iii*) professions and liberal arts which have dropped down a little, register varying degrees of increases in the numbers of persons supported

* The comparison will be made throughout the Chapter between the workers of 1931 and 1921, *i.e.*, between the persons following an occupation as earners, as working dependants, and as subsidiary to other occupation at the current Census on the one hand, and the total supported by it *minus* the dependants at the Census of 1921 on the other.

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by them during the last ten years. As will be seen further, the comparatively large number of persons supported by cultivation does not indicate any sudden momentum to the movement of 'back to the land', and falling off in the numbers supported either by industry or other non-agricultural occupations, but is derived from better enumeration which shows as many as 9,353 male and 27,593 female working dependants in addition to earners supported by it. For, it cannot be that only 44·6 per cent. of the supported in 1921 were agriculturists, when we know it for a fact that the population of this State is for the most part agricultural and rural, and that the persons supported by industries, trade and other occupations number far less. Exploitation of metallic minerals has substantially increased. But amongst the industries ceramics show a considerable decline in the numbers supported by it, as pottery seems to be gradually giving ground to China wares and brass and copper vessels. Textile industry has appreciably flourished, and wood and metals are more in demand than before. Food industries and the manufacture of vegetable oils have progressed remarkably. Transport, more particularly by road, seems to be slowly falling into public disfavour. While trade in textiles has increased at a greater pace than the textile industry, trade in pottery has declined at a greater speed than its manufacture. Trade in general points to an alround increase except in a few cases whose decline is due to special causes to be reviewed later. Though the public force has been maintained at the same level, public administration has seen the necessity of substantially increasing the number of persons formerly employed. Religion appears to have suffered a bit, perhaps owing to the growing outwardness of the people. Instruction has more than doubled the strength of the supported, and so also the letters and sciences. Domestic services are slightly more in demand, but the unproductive section of the population which shows a somewhat smaller number of criminals, has a substantially larger number to return as beggars and vagrants. But the increase in the latter class is due to the stricter attitude of the enumerator who would return its members under this head rather than in the more respectable company of monks and religious mendicants.

Class A—Production of Raw Materials

198. Pasture and Agriculture (Order 1).—A detailed examination of the occupations of the people of the State will be now taken in hand. The most important and dominant amongst them has been already seen to be agriculture. Order 1 includes both pasture and agriculture and supports 1,13,665 or 99·4 per cent. of the total of Class A. The present order is divided into five parts, *viz.*, (*a*) cultivation, (*b*) cultivation of special crops, fruit, ect., (*c*) forestry, (*d*) stock-raising, and (*e*) raising of small animals and insects. Cultivation is the most numerous of all and occupies 1,04,017 or 91 per cent. of this order. But the growers of special products number 1,286 as against 1,233 engaged in forestry. Pasture, the counterpart of agriculture, occupies 7,126 in stock raising and only 3 in raising birds.

But there is another important aspect from which the total number of persons supported by agricultural occupations should be considered. Cultivation of the soil occupies as many as 1,04,017 persons. To this shoud be added 1,286 workers engaged in the the cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc., which with 13,765 persons doing unspecified labour in rural areas and referred to in para 202, amount to 1,19,058 or 59 per cent. of the total workers. But if those engaged in the sister occupations of forestry, stock raising, etc. be still further taken into account, the total number of persons engaged in pasture and agriculture including the unspecified labour aforesaid form 1,27,478 or 63 per cent. of the total working population of the State.

It will be of some interest to know that under the head agriculture are grouped persons with diverse callings. Some of them have little to do either with the cultivation of soil or with the operations connected with it. It includes not only the tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers whose commerce with land is direct, but also a number of others whose connection with land is too remote to deserve their being termed agriculturists. Under the Census, a *jamindar* or

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Mulgirassia and his clerks employed in collecting rent, as also the Director of Agriculture and his staff will be shown as plying agricultural operations. But luckily as the number of such persons in the State is limited, and as the latter have been mainly returned under group 159 relating to the service of the State, the figures presented under this head make a correct representation of persons supported by occupations which are purely agricultural.

199. Cultivation (Order 1, a).—Ordinary cultivation as distinguished from cultivation of special products like coffee, tea, market gardening, growing of flowers and fruits, etc., is subdivided into eight groups. The total number of persons occupied by cultivati on is 1,04,017 of which 47,136 are tenant cultivators, 53,289 agricultural labourers, 2,918 non-cultivating proprietors, 600 cultivating owners and 74 others. The relatively smaller number of cultivating owers and greater number of tenants result from the particular nature of land tenure, *viz.* the *khata-bandhi* tenure which prevailed in the State uptil last year. The tenure which recognised rights of permanent oocupancy may be described as under:—

"*Khata-bandhi tenure.*—The prevailing tenure is what is known as theKhata-bandhi tenure under which the Darbar Khalsa lands are leased out to permanent tenants. The main characteristic of this tenure is that the use and occupation of the Khata land is secured in perpetuity to the registered tenant and his lineal male descendents, so long as there is no default in payment of Darbari assessment dues. The tenant can neither sell nor mortgage his land, in fact, has no transferable interest in his holding, a restricted right of leasing for a period of five years being only recently conceded. The State on leasing a new holding or one that has fallen vacant owing to its having escheated to the Darbar, does so by public auction and levies a Sukhadi or premium charge from the incoming tenant."[1]

The number of non-cultivating owners of land and rent receivers is, therefore, restricted to those Bhayats and Mulgirassias who may be deemed to possess some sort of proprietory rights in land. On the other hand, the number of cultivating tenants was kept under control owing to the revenue law which prohibited all leasing of lands to sub-tenants in lieu of rent. It was a condition precedent to a person's being a *khedut* or *khatedar* that he must possess a pair of bullocks and till his land either personally or through a *sathi, i.e.*, a person hired for the purpose. Thus restrictions on alienation and essentially agricultural character of the tenant operated to limit the number of tenant cultivators. But semi-proprietory rights conferred upon the *kheduts* on the occasion of the accession to the *gadi* by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Krishnakumarsinhaji, on April 18th, 1931, have made a great change in the status of the *kheduts*. Those *khata-bandhi kheduts* who tilled land either personally or by a *sathi* are now permitted to alienate their land and houses appertenant thereto, to other *kheduts* by mortgage, sale or otherwise. But to avoid any misuse of this right, and prevent the passing away of land from the agriculturist to the non-agriculturist, it was specifically ordained that the land shall be transferable to none other than genuine or *bona fide kheduts.*[2]

Group No.	Occupation	Total following occupation	As Principal Occupation		As working Dependants		As subsidiary to other occupation		Proportion per 1,000 occupied in cultivation
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
	Cultivators	1,04,017	57,772	8,880	9,353	27,593	379	40	1,000
1	Non-cultivating proprietors ...	2,918	2,526	314	24	32	„ 22	...	29
6	Tenant cultivators ...	47,136	40,937	1,989	722	3,354	134	...	453
7	Agricultural labourers ...	53,289	13,660	6,563	8,603	24,204	219	40	512

1. *Khedut Debt Inquiry Committee Report*, p. 2.
2. Vide *Gazette Extraordinary*, dated, 18th April, 1931.

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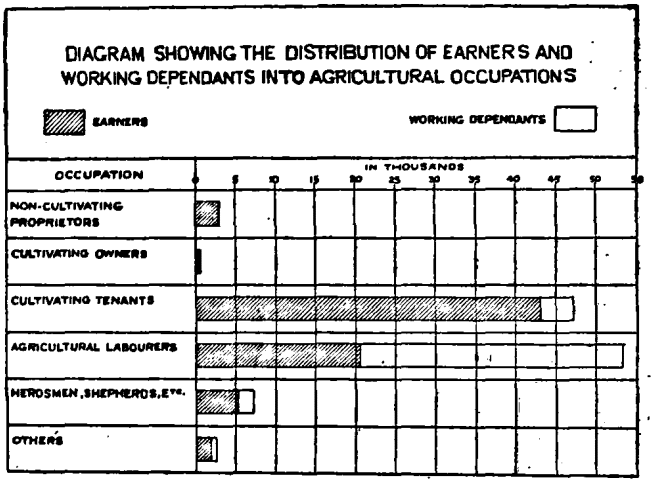
The foregoing statement extracted from the Imperial Table X will prove instructive. Of the total supported by cultivation, 67,071 or 64·5 per cent. are earners of whom 66,652 or 64 per cent. follow it as a principal means of livelihood and only 419 as a secondary occupation, and 36,946 or 36 per cent. are working dependants. Putting it the other way, 44·4 per cent. of the total earners and 71·9 per cent. of the working dependants subsist on cultivation. This shows the all-important character of agriculture as the means of livelihood of the people of this State, the total occupied by cultivation being 1,04,017 or 51·4 per cent. of the total workers in the State.

The following diagram illustrates the distribution of workers into various kinds of agricultural operations:—



The marginal statement shows the total number of persons supported in 1931 and 1921 by each of the seven groups of occupations coming under ordinary cultivation. Their percentages of variation are also shown. The numbers supported by cultivation appear to have very nearly doubled during the last ten years. But it is not really so owing to the absence of any close correspondence between the statistics of the Censuses of 1931 and 1921 and the incompleteness of the latter. For, those assisting in agricultural operations who are shown on this occasion as agricultural working dependants seem to have been totally left out of account as actual workers in 1921. This results in the incorrect impression that is received as to the numbers then subsisting on the cultivation of the soil who were wrongly estimated in 1921 at 44 per cent. of the total workers.

Group No.	Cultivation	Total following occupation		Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)
		1931	1921	
	Cultivation ...	**1,04,017**	**54,856**	**+ 89·5**
1	Non-cultivating Proprietors ...	2,918	3,897	— 30·2
2	Estate Agents and Managers, etc. ...	72	...	...
3	Estate Agents and Managers of Government ...	1	...	...
4	Rent Collectors, Clerks, etc. ...	1	...	...
5	Cultivating owners	600	...	...
6	Tenant cultivators	47,136	39,322	+ 19·8
7	Agricultural labourers	53,289	11,637	+ 357·9

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200. Non-cultivating Proprietors.—Landlords or non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in cash or kind have declined during the last ten years from 3,897 to 2,918, *i.e.*, by 30 per cent. But if the statistics of group 5 which has no person returned as cultivating owner in 1921 as against 600 in 1931 be jointly considered with this group the fall is only 9·7 per cent. Under this head are to be included only those of the Mulgirassias who do not cultivate their land as also those who so cultivate but the major portion of whose income is derived from rents received from their tenants. Cultivating owners, therefore, will be all those Mulgirassias who mainly subsist on the income derived from tilling their land either personally or by a *sathi*. Referring to Table XI-B (*i*), it is found that the Rajpupts and Kathis are the two main castes which have returned rent-receivers. While the former number 1,299, the latter 957. But there are a few persons also among the Charans, Brahmans, Ahirs and Bavas who have returned themselves as non-cultivating proprietors of land. They are the holders of lands alienated to them by the Darbar under serveral Barkhali tenures.

201. Cultivating Tenants (Group 6).—This group supports 47,136 persons, as against 39,322 in 1921. The latter figures rather appear to be suspicious, when it is borne in mind that as tenant cultivators were to be returned not only those who worked at the plough, but also those members of the family who helped to augment the family income by regular work. The defective nature of the statistics of 1921 is further revealed by the number of agricultural labourers who were only 11,637 as against 53,289 in 1931. The figures of the last Census cannot be reconciled with the existing state of agriculture which cannot be carried out with the amount of agricultural labour shown by it. In order to get a more complete idea of the tenant cultivators, 1,284 persons returned as market gardeners and fruit growers should be added to the number of cultivators. The number of cultivators will then amount to 48,420. The marginal table compares the Census figures with the departmental and shows that the total number of cultivating tenants as enumerated by the Census has increased by 19·8 per cent. during the past decennium. The increase results from the greater accuracy of the present enumeration. The departmental figures also show an increase of 6·4 per cent. in the number of registered *khatedars*. The latter are seen to be less than half the former as a registered *khata* does not necessarily consist of only one tenant. There are co-sharers also. And the recognition accorded by the Census to a regular working member of a family as an actual worker either as an earner or dependant would naturally swell the number of persons supported by this group. The numbers returned, therefore, far from relating to the actual number of *khatedars* concern the total number of persons supported under the group of tenant cultivators. But in order to get a correcter estimate of the numbers thus supported, 32,807 returned as working dependants of group 7, *i.e.*, agricultural labourers should be brought over to group 6. For as a matter of fact no person should have been returned in columns 6 and 7 against group 7 owing to the distinction which the Census makes between an earner and a working dependant. Those who have been returned as working dependants are not dependent upon agricultural labourers, in which case they are earners on account of their earning wages, but upon the cultivating tenants whom they assist in field work. The term *kheti mā madad* that was used to describe this kind of dependants was translated as a form of labour of the dependent kind. In reality, they are the workers dependent upon tenant cultivators, and should have been properly shown against

Kind	Number supported		Variation since 1921
	1931	1921	
Total ...	**48,420**	**39,618**	**+ 22·2**
Cultivating tenants ...	47,136	39,322	+ 19·8
Flower & Fruit growers	1,284	296	+334·4

Revenue Department Figures

Year	Number of Registered Khatedars	Variation per cent.
1921	22,513	...
1930	23,959	6·4

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group 6. The total number of persons thus supported–cultivators and their working dependants–will be as under:—

Numbers following occupation shown under group 6, *i.e.*, Tenant Cultivators	...	...	47,136
Working dependants of group 8 as stated above	...	...	32,807
Group 16, Market Gardeners and fruit growers	...	...	1,284*
			81,227

Thus 81,227 or 71·4 per cent. of those engaged in the exploitation of animals and vegetation are supported by groups 6 and 16 relating to tenant cultivators and growers of vegetables and fruits. They will thus form 40 per cent. of the total workers. But without the figures of those returned as working dependants of agricultural labourers the total supported by these groups will be only 48,420 or 23 per cent. of the total workers, and 42·5 of the total engaged in Sub-Class I. The most dominant amongst the castes that have been returned as cultivating tenants are the Kanbis who show 18,053 earners as against 7,942 Kolis. Though cultivators are found to exist in all castes, some of the more important are Ahirs, Paleval Brahmans, Kharaks, Kumbhars, Pancholis and Rajputs.

202. Agricultural Labourers (Group 7).—Agricultural labour supports 53,289. But as observed in the preceding para, and according to the test prescribed by the Census, if 32,807 working dependants returned under this group be subtracted, the number of genuine labourers doing field labour and receiving wages will be reduced to 20,482 as against 11,637 for 1921. Upon the figures of the last Census the present shows an increase of 8,845 of 76 per cent. for reasons already noted before. But that this is not the genuine labour force of the State occupied by agriculture will be realised, when the large numbers returned under that unspecified group 191 which shows as many as 15,237 labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified are taken into account. Of these 2,472 are claimed by the City of Bhavnagar whose urban characteristic may be taken to vouch for their non-agricultural character. The remaining 13,765 returned under this group should be rightly deemed to have been engaged in agricultural labour. The total field labour will then number 34,247, which with the labour supplied by 32,807 persons aforesaid really dependent upon cultivating owners amounts to 67,054. But in order to have a correct idea of the total number of persons engaged in agricultural labour, 4,076 workers returned as dependent upon tenant cultivators and assisting them in agricultural operations should be also taken into consideration. The total will then amount to 71,130 or 35 per cent. of the total working population. Though there is hardly any caste which is not engaged in field labour the most important are the Kolis, the Kanbis occupying a second place at a respectable distance from the former who have 8,953 as against 3,150 for the latter as earners in this group.

203. Growers of Special Products.—Figures collected under groups 9 to 16 of order I (*b*) will be considered under this para. Persons solely devoted to the growing of special products as in the case of planters are not to be found in the State. The *kachhias* and other agriculturists, who produce such fruits as pomegranates, pepin and vegetables for sale in the market generally combine this work with ordinary cultivation. But 1,286 persons who come to be treated as growers of special products are so done as they carry on cultivation as subsidiary to the growing of special products. While only 2 persons are occupied in growing pan-vine, as many as 1,284 are market gardeners and fruit growers.

204. Forestry.—Forestry which supports 1,233 persons has as many as 1,196 wood cutters and charcoal burners, as against 921 in 1921.

* The growers of special products are also tenants and their dependants.

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205. Pasture.—Raising of farm stock, small animals and insects jointly supports 7,129 persons as against 6,263 ten years ago. Of these 1,085 are cattle and buffalo breeders and 6,000 herdsmen and shepherds. Only three persons support themselves by raising birds, but the breeders of transport animals number 41. The margin compares the figuers of the groups discussed above for the last two Censuses. The variations in the figures of the different groups are brought about by their interchangeable character. As the groups are not exclusive and well-defined, a person occupied in one is likely to be returned as following the other of them. Herdsmen are not infrequently breeders and keepers of cattle and buffalo and may equally well be breeders of transport animals also. Another group that is likely to influence the figures of stock raising is group 131 of dealers in dairy products. Shepherds are also milkmen and are, therefore, apt to be returned as sellers of dairy produce. Combination of this group with those of pasture shows 9,037 as against 6,829 in 1921, the additions made regarding the sellers of milk, and other dairy produce being 1,911 in 1931 as against 566 in 1921.

Group No.	Stock Raising	Total following occupation		Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)
		1931	1921	
	Stock Raising ...	**7,126**	**6,263**	**+ 13·6**
21	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	1,085	5,046	— 374·4
22	Breeders of transport animals	41	...	...
23	Herdsmen, shepherds, and breeders of other animals	6,000	1,217	+ 393·0
24	Birds, bees, etc. ...	3	...	...
25	Silkworms	...	...	...
26	Lac Cultivation ...	...	...	...

206. Orders 3 and 4: Metallic and Non-metallic Minerals.—Sub-class II–Exploitation of minerals is divided into two orders dealing with (*i*) metallic and (*ii*) non-metallic minerals. Metallic mines there are none in the State. But the non-metallic minerals as represented by stone and salt are exploited in the State at the stone quarries of Rajula and Sihor and the salt *agars* on the sea-coast. While the former of two occupies 406 persons, the latter 218. The correspoding figures for 1921 are 215 and 146.

Class B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances

207. Main Figures of Class B.—This class is divided into three sub-classes as shown in the margin, *viz.*, (*i*) Industry, (*ii*) Transport and (*iii*) Trade. The respective numbers of persons following them are 27,748, 5,008 and 19,717. The figures testify to the more important nature of industries and trade compared to that of the transport which supports only 9·5 per cent. of the total number of this class. The last decennium was favourable to a very rapid growth of industries of all kinds except ceramics which have fallen off considerably. Expansion of trade has been even far more rapid than that of industries, though transport supports 776 persons less than those in 1921.

Sub-Class	Persons following occupations		Distribution per cent. of the total of Class B 1931	Variation per cent. since 1921
	1931	1921		
Total Class B	**52,473**	**43,419**	**100**	**+ 20·8**
Industry ...	27,748	22,866	52·9	+ 21·3
Transport ...	5,008	5,784	9·5	— 13·4
Trade ...	19,717	14,769	37·6	+ 33·8

208. Industry (Sub-Class III).—The margin discloses the thirteen orders grouped under Sub-class III–Industry, the total number of persons sup-

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ported by which has increased by 21·3 per cent. since 1921. 550 persons per 10,000 of the total population are occupied in the manufacture of material substances. Reviewing in general the figures by orders, an all-round increase is noticeable except in order 6–hides, skins, etc., which supports 36 fewer, order 13–furniture industries which supports 2 fewer, and order 9–Ceramics which supports 36 per cent. less than those in 1921. All the remaining ten orders register varying degrees of increases facilitated in the main by the general peaceful and industrial character of the past decennium.

Group No.	INDUSTRY	Persons following occupation		Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)
		1931	1921	
	Industry ...	**27,748**	**22,866**	**+ 21·3**
5	Textiles	7,446	6,853	+ 8·9
6	Hides, skins, etc. ...	1,313	1,349	— 2·6
7	Wood	2,831	1,556	+ 81·9
8	Metals	1,910	1,364	+ 40·0
9	Ceramics	2,140	3,335	— 35·8
10	Chemical products ...	1,168	59	+ 1,879·6
11	Food industries	1,578	491	+ 221·3
12	Dress and Toilet ...	5,723	5,310	+ 7·7
13	Furniture	65	67	— 2·9
14	Building	1,281	686	+ 89·6
15	Construction of means of transport	44	41	+ 7·3
16	Production and transmission of physical force ...	39	9	+ 333·3
17	Miscellaneous and undefined	2,210	1,746	+ 26·5

209. Textiles (Order 5).—Textiles occupy by far the largest number of persons returned under the different industries. All sorts of operations connected with the manufacture of cotton, silk, woolen and jute articles and the allied branches of dyeing, bleaching, printing and sponging of textiles are grouped under this order, and shown in the margin. The textile industry in the State occupies 7,446 persons as against 6,853 in 1921, the increase being due to the erection of a spinning mill at Mahuva, growth in the number of hand looms, and the revival of the *charkha* as a result of a greater demand made for khaddar. As against 6,272 supported by the cotton textiles in 1921, there are as many as 6,578 in 1931. According to the special census of cottage industries separately carried out on this occasion, there are 2,124 hand looms, of which 132 are worked by fly shuttle, 5,121 spinning wheels and 293 hand gins. These figures are by no means complete, but err on the side of under-estimation. They nevertheless clearly indicate a tendency towards the regeneration of the spinning wheel and the hand-loom and the consequent increase in the production of hand-made cotton cloth. But the most numerous of the two textile groups is group 43 relating to the spinning, sizing, and weaving of cotton which alone occupies 5,849 workers. Jute spinning totally absent a decade hence has returned 18 persons, the carding, spinning and weaving of wool supporting 339 persons as against 129 in 1921. Spinning and weaving of silk has correspondingly increased, the numbers supported having risen to 43 from 15 in 1921. But the art of dyeing and printing has suffered a decline and the number of dyers has fallen off to 337 from 432 in 1921. The textile industry, especially the cotton textiles, has a great future in the State during the next decade whose commencement has been marked by the starting of two new mills in the City.

Group No.	Occupation	Total following occupation		Variation per cent. Increase(+) Decrease(—)
		1931	1921	
	Textiles	**7,446**	**6,853**	**+ 7·2**
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning etc.	729	1,160	— 37·1
43	Cotton spinning, sizing etc.	5,849	5,112	+ 14·4
44	Jute	18	...	...
45	Rope, twine, etc. ...	14	3	+ 366·6
46	Wool	339	129	+ 162·7
47	Silk	43	15	+ 186·6
49	Dyeing, bleaching, printing etc.	337	432	— 5,750·0
50	Lace, crape, embroidery, fringes, etc., and insufficiently described textile industries	117	2	+ 5,750·0

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210. Hides and Skins (Order 6).—Those who both produce and sell goods are to be treated as manufacturers, and not as sellers coming under Sub-class V–Trade. But the interchangeable nature of group 51–working in leather, and group 82–boot-makers renders it advisable to consider their figures together before noticing the slight drop of 36 in the number of persons supported by this order :—

	Census 1931	Census 1921
Group 51 Working in leather	1,293	1,254
„ 82 Boot, shoe, etc., Makers	1,410	1,358
	2,703	2,612

Thus the principal occupation of the order which consists of tanning and curing of hides, along with group 82 of making and selling of finished leather goods such as boots and shoes, supports 91 persons more than in 1921, the slight decrease in the numbers supported by the order being explained by a reduction in the number of bone workers in 1931. According to the census of cottage industries, there are 921 tanneries of which Kundla has 248, Botad 148 and Gadhada 117.

211. Wood and Building Industries (Orders 7 and 14).—Workers engaged in wood industry consist of sawyers and carpenters on the one hand, and of basket makers, other workers in woody materials, and thatchers of cottages on the other. Persons employed in it should be conveniently considered with those working in building industries, as the workers in wood are also workers in building industries. The real growth of operations connected with building work can be understood only by examining together these two sets of occupations which are of a complimentary nature. The marginal statistics show the advance made by the different groups during the last ten years. The building industries comprised under order 14, and its only group 90 support such persons as lime burners, cement workers, excavators, well sinkers, stone cutters, brick layers, masons, builders, painters, etc. There is a simultaneous increase in the number of persons supported by all the groups shown in the margin. The sawyers, carpenters, masons, stone cutters and all the rest have increased in numbers in response to a greater demand made upon their work by the growing number of newly erected buildings both in the urban and rural areas. And this is amply corroborated by the increase in the number of occupied houses in town and country during 1921–31, whose respective percentages of increase are 15·0 and 8·3. It is interesting to note that both these industries, wood working and building industries, have grown at very nearly the same speed, *i.e.* 85·8 and 88·2 per cent. respectively. While the basket makers number 279, the number of cabinet factories employing 2 carpenters or more is returned to be 517.

Group Number	Occupation	1931	1921
	Total	**4,112**	**2,242**
	Order 7 : Wood ...	*2,831*	*1,556*
54	Sawyers	201	153
55	Carpenters, etc. ...	2,305	1,260
56	Basket makers, etc. ...	325	143
	Order 14 : Building Industries	*1,281*	*686*
90	Lime burners, stone cutters, Masons, etc.	1,281	686

212. Metals (Order 8).—The most numerous group under this order which supports 1,910 workers compared to 1,364 in 1921 consists of blacksmiths and workers in iron who number 1,243 as against 953 at the last Census. Iron wares, chiefly scales, knives and other articles of household use are prepared and sold at Kundla which has, according to the special census, 102 families engaged in this work. Mahuva and Talaja follow with 95 and 61 families respectively, the total number of such families in the State being 474. Brass-smiths and coppersmiths have increased from 379 in 1921 to 547 in 1931, workers in other metals exclud-

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ing precious metals having risen to 106 from 32. There are 345 families working in copper, brass and bronze of which as many as 226 are to be found in the Mahal of Sihor alone whose brass and copper vessels and other wares of daily use are in increasing demand. Given necessary encouragement and facilities for marketing their wares, both these industries have great possibilities for future expansion.

213. Ceramics (Order 9).—The most and rather the only hard hit of industries is ceramics, the number supported by which has gone down by 35·6 per cent. during the last ten years. The order which occupied 3,335 persons in 1921, now occupies 2,140. The numerically important group (63) is that of the potters and makers of earthen wares and supports 2,052 workers, as compared to 3,305 in 1921. But makers of bricks and tiles which must be produced in greater quantities to cope with the growing number of houses built during the last decennium are, however, on the increase like the carpenters and brick-layers occupied in the sister industries of wood working and erecting buildings whose raw materials they supply. From 30 in 1921, they have gone upto 86 in 1931. The decline in the makers of earthen wares unlike that of the blacksmiths and copper-smiths suggests the decreasing use made of them by the people who have substituted copper, brass and china wares instead of the clay pots formerly used by them. The cottage census has enumerated a total of 1,070 families of potters in the State.

214. Vegetable Oils and Chemicals (Order 10).—This order is headed 'chemical products properly so-called and analogous' and consists of such occupations as manufacture (*i*) of matches, fire-works and other explosives, (*ii*) of aerated and mineral waters and ice, and (*iii*) manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils. The numerically important group relates to the manufacture of vegetable oils which occupies 1,139 persons as against none returned in 1921. The group deals with *ghanchis* or oil pressers whose total absence in the State ten years back, should be accounted for by their being wrongfully tabulated under some other group. There are 624 families engaged in pressing oil, Mahuva topping the list with 131. The *ghanchis* are uniformly distributed all over the State. Manufacture of aerated waters and ice supports nearly double its former number, while only two persons are occupied in making fire-works. But the incorporation of a match factory which will start working after some time, will support a greater number of persons under this group at the next Census.

215. Food Industries (Orders 11 and 32).—Food industries support 1,578 workers who consist of (*i*) rice pounders, huskers, flour grinders, (*ii*) grain parchers, (*iii*) butchers, (*iv*) makers of sugar, molasses and gur, (*v*) sweetmeat and condiment makers and (*vi*) manufacturers of tobacco, opium and ganja. The number of persons supported by this order in 1921 was only 491. But as this order is interchangeable with order 32-trade in foods tuffs, the statistics of these two orders may well be combined as under:—

Group No.	Occupation	Total following occupation	
		1931	1921
	FOOD INDUSTRIES		
71	Rice pounders ...	404	164
72	Grain parchers ...	8	67
73	Butchers ...	66	52
74	Makers of Sugar, molasses and gur	118	24
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers.	369	163
76	Toddy drawers	1	...
77	Brewers and distillers	1	13
78	Manufacturers of Tobacco ...	462	...
79	,, ,, Opium ...	3	...
80	,, ,, Ganja ...	...	...
81	Others ...	146	...
	OTHER TRADE IN FOOD STUFFS		
129	Grain and Pulse dealers ...	2,506	2,933
130	Dealers in sweetmeat, sugar and spices ...	1,080	623
131	Dealers in dairy products ...	1,911	566
132	,, ,, animals for food ...	6	...
133	,, ,, fodder ...	237	292
134	,, ,, other food stuffs ...	1,072	2,454
135	,, ,, tobacco ...	760	168
136	,, ,, opium ...	28	...
137	,, ,, ganja ...	2	...

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	Occupation	Census 1931	Census 1921	Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (−)
Order 13	Food industries ...	1,578	491	+ 221·3
32	Trade in food stuffs ...	7,602	8,119	— 6·3
	Total ...	9,180	8,610	+ 6·6

The total number of persons supported by the manufacture and sale of food stuffs shows an increase of 570 or 6·6 per cent., the great fluctuation noticeable in order 13 being due to the confusing nature of the two orders whose figures change places. Because, as the makers are also the sellers, the manufacturers of food stuffs are likely to be returned only as the traders of them. Rice pounders, makers of sugar, molasses and gur, sweetmeat and condiment makers have all increased in numbers during the past decade. Some of the groups may be usefully compared as follows:—

Group No.	Occupation	Census 1931	Census 1921
74	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur ...	118	24
75	Sweetmeat and condiment makers ...	369	163
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices ...	1,080	623
	Total ...	1,567	810

Persons occupied in the making and selling of sweetmeats, spices and sugar have greatly increased in numbers during the past decade. 137 mills crushing sugarcane and worked by hand have been returned by the census of cottage industries. Of these, 47 are in the Mahal of Umrala alone. Persons dealing in grain as also those engaged in operations connected therewith are treated below:—

Group No.	Occupation	Census 1931	Census 1921
71	Rice pounders and huskers and flours grinders	404	164
72	Grain parchers	8	67
129	Grain and pulse dealers	2,506	2,933
134	Dealers in other food stuffs	1,072	2,454
150	General storekeepers, and shopkeepers otherwise unspecified ...	3,897	5
	Total ...	7,887	5,623

Groups 129, 134 and 150 properly relate to Sub-class V–Trade. But as has been already seen as the making of an article is sometimes inextricably mixed with its vending, and as a person following one occupation is apt to be returned under the other, it is advisable to study the different groups together, if the statistics of comparison are to be correctly appreciated. Group 150 relating to the indefinite shopkeeper so common in the State, more particularly in rural areas, should be considered along with other groups, if dealers in grain, pulse and other food stuffs are to be examined along with food industries. If the indefinite storekeeper be left out of account, it will appear that the food industries and dealers in food stuffs have declined from 5,618 in 1921 to 3,990 in 1931. But the rural shop-keeper combining as he does such mixed operations as money-lending, grocery and general store-keeping of all sorts plays a very important part in the functional distribution of rural occupations. Though it should be the major occupation from which he derived the greater part of his income that was to be entered, the indefinite character of his calling made indefinite return quite easy. *Parachuran vepar* or trade in miscellaneous articles was the general entry made for him. In a way it is interesting to know the number of such persons in the State. But the figures (3,897) collected under this group (150) do not all relate to

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the village shop-keepers, as others whose functions were not specified but were indefinitely returned as *vepar* or trade have also been included amongst them. The return of only 5 persons under this head in 1921 is greatly suspicious, as resulting from the use of discretion in favour of amending the entries by giving definite names to the occupations returned. Some of them seem to have gone under group 134–dealers of other food stuffs in 1921. Industry and trade connected with food stuffs would register a decline in the numbers supported by them, if the rural traders be left out of account. But this cannot be so, when the growth of population since 1921 is taken into consideration. Much of the increase shown by the totals of groups 71, 72, 129, 134, and 150 is, therefore, real and brought about by an increase in the number of workers following occupations relating to the industries and trade of food stuffs.

216. Dress and Toilet (Orders 12 and 33).—Similarly, industries of dress and the toilet should be considered in relation to the sale of these articles. Their respective orders are 12 and 33. While the former supports as many as 5,723 persons, the latter occupies only 50 workers. The total of their occupied will come to 5,773 as compared to 5,378 in 1921, and the percentage of variation by way of increase works out to be 7. Of these the most numerous are the groups 82, 83, 85 and 86 relating to the boot and shoe-makers, tailors, washers, and barbers. The *mochis* have already been considered before. There are 1,980 *darjis*, 353 washermen, and 1,961 *hajams*, similar statistics for the past Census being 1,696, 341 and 1,842 respectivey. While the *dhobis* have practically remained at a standstill, the tailors have increased far more rapidly than the barbers. Under the old self-sufficing economic system, all of them played a very useful part in supplying the varying needs of society. The variation in the degrees of their increase indicates the relative change in their usefulness in the new economic order. Though the greater simplicity of the people in the matter of dress which need not be washed by a *dhobi* so long as simple home washing by soap is possible has resulted in a negligible increase in the number of washermen, shaving without the aid of the *hajam* is not equally in vogue. The art of hair-cutting is still their sole monopoly, though the relatively slower rate at which the barbers have increased as compared to the tailors points to that tendency amongst the most of the educated to dispense with the *hajam* so far as shaving operations are concerned. But the services of the *darji* are in greater demand than ever, owing to the changing modes of fashion and the special character of his profession which cannot be easily imitated and encroached upon by a layman. While the special census shows 1,204 tailoring families, the number of sewing machines is found to be 1,418. As will be seen further in the Chapter on Caste, the *darjis* have the greatest number of their caste men in the City, a fact which is also corroborated by the numbers of the tailoring families (356) and sewing machines (536) being the largest for that place.

217. Printers, etc., Goldsmiths and Scavengers. (Groups 95, 98 and 100).—All the marginally quoted occupations record increases in the numbers of persons following them. The most substantial increase has taken place in group 98 which supports 317 persons more than those done ten years ago. There are 629 *bhangis*, and 204 printers, engravers and book-binders. Growth of trade and existence of institutions, educational and otherwise, have been in the main instrumental in showing a greater number of persons supported by the latter occupation. Under this group are also shown those of the State servants who had specifically returned themselves as being employed in the State Printing Press. The departmental figures gathered in this behalf show 32 persons working in the State Press.

Group No.	Occupation	Followed by	
		1931	1921
95	Printers, engravers, book-binders	204	174
98	Makers of jewellery and ornaments ...	1,334	1,017
100	Scavenging	629	555

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218. Transport (Sub-Class IV).—The statement in the margin shows the number of persons employed in each of the five orders included under this Sub-class. Persons occupied in transport number 5,008 as against 5,784 in 1921., Except under order 22–Post, Telegraph and Telephone services, there is a decrease in the number of workers supported by all the remaining transport orders. Aviation or transport by air is conspicuous by the absence of any single worker occupied in it. Under transport by water are grouped (*i*) ship and boat-owners, their employees, officers, mariners, ships-brokers, boat-men and tow-men on the one hand, and (*ii*) persons and labourers employed on harbours and docks on the other. The former are numerically important and number over a thousand, the latter numbering only 467. While the harbour and dock workers have increased, boat-owners, boatmen and tow-men appear to have appreciably decreased in numbers. The decrease, however, does not seem to be real, as the rapid expansion of trade which has seen the necessity of employing more labourers in the harbour and docks would naturally require a greater number of boatmen and tow-men than that of those returned in 1921. The discrepancy is, however, explicable by the groups being exclusive, and by the entry of some of the persons employed under this occupational head under the unspecified group 191 of labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified.

Order No.	Transport	Persons following occupation		Variation per cent. Increase + Decrease —
		1931	1921	
	Transport ...	5,008	5,784	— 13.4
18	Transport by Air ...	...	...	...
19	,, ,, Water ...	1,488	1,584	— 6.2
20	,, ,, Road ...	1,091	1,434	— 23.9
21	,, ,, Rail ...	2,121	2,611	— 18.7
22	Post, Telegraph and Telephone ...	308	155	+ 98.7

The importance of coastal and maritime trade is revealed by the smaller number of persons employed in transport by road than in transport by water. Transport by road supports 1,091 persons or 343 less than those in 1921. Reduction in the numbers supported is due partly to the absence of any construction works going on at the time of the Census, and partly to the diminishing use made of such vehicles as bullock carts owing to the extension of railways and the appearance of their recent competitor, the motor bus.

Transport by rail is sub-divided into two groups, *viz.*, (*i*) group 112 of railway employees of all kinds other than coolies and (*ii*) group 113 of labourers employed on railway construction and maintenance, and coolies and porters employed on railway premises. Of the total number of 2,121 persons employed in railway transport as many as 1,649 belong to the former, the remaining 472 being labourers and coolies returned under the latter. Though this order as a whole occupies 490 fewer persons than those in 1921, a separate examination of the figures by groups discloses that while the railway employees other than coolies have risen from 876 in 1921 to 1,649 in 1931, labour employed on the railway has dwindled down to 472 from 1,735 in 1921. The drop in the number of coolies employed is due to the absence of any new construction work going on on the night of the Census, which was in 1921 responsible for the return of more than three times the present number as a result of the extension of the Botad–Dhandhuka and Kundla–Mahuva lines that were then under construction. The numbers supported by post, telegraph, etc., have according to the Census increased by 153 during the last ten years.

219. Trade (Sub-Class V).—Some of the more important orders of Sub-class V are shown in the following statement with variation in absolute numbers and figures for the last two Censuses. There has been an increase of 33·8 per cent. in the number of persons occupied in trades since 1921,

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the total supported having risen from 14,769 to 19,717. Trade consists of the

Order No.	TRADE	Persons following occupation		Absolute Variation	Variation per cent. Increase + Decrease —
		1931	1921		
	Trade...	19,717	14,769	+ 4,948	+ 33·8
23	Bankers, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	1,365	1,173	+ 192	+ 16·3
24	Brokerage, commission and export	393	225	+ 168	+ 74·6
25	Trade in textiles	2,108	1,549	+ 559	+ 36·1
27	Trade in wood	694	344	+ 350	+ 101·7
28	Trade in Metals	277	252	+ 25	+ 9·9
30	Trade in chemical products	154	43	+ 111	+ 258·1
31	Hotels, Cafes, etc.	903	138	+ 765	+ 554·3
37	Trade in fuel	899	463	+ 436	+ 94·1
38	Trade in articles of luxury, etc.	337	310	+ 27	+ 8·7
39	Trade of other sorts	4,052	1,707	+ 2,345	+ 137·3

exchange through middlemen of articles manufactured by industries. While examining some of the industrial groups, it was noticed that the makers are also sellers of goods, and that the sharp distinction between production and supply very often does not exist in this country. This necessitated the examination of certain trade-groups with industries. The case of the rural shop-keeper who sells within his small shop all the necessities of the village life as also those of milkmen, boot-makers, etc., has already been examined. Those groups that have been considered before with industrial occupations need not, therefore, be reviewed under this sub-class. Speaking generally, there has been an alround increase under all the principal and more important orders, the decrease that has been returned under a few of them being due to their interchangeable character allowing them to be classified under more than one occupational group.

Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance show an increase of 16·3 per cent. in the number of persons supported by them during the past decennium. For, the growth of commerce and industry must be inevitably accompanied by the expansion of credit. Brokers and commission agents whose activities as middlemen are necessary to promote the distribution and sale of manufactured products have also kept pace with the growth of industries by increasing their number from 225 in 1921 to 393 in 1931. Like the textile industry, trade in textiles has also grown and supports 559 persons more than those in 1921. Like building industries, trade in wood has also shown remarkable progress by doubling the numbers supported by it ten years ago. The growing cosmopolitan nature of the people and the gradual loosening of the bonds of caste in the matter food and drink are reflected in a very great and rapid rise in the number of hotels, *vishis*, etc. which now support 903 persons as compared to only 138 shown at the last Census. Nowadays a small tea-shop with a *pan-bidi* stall attached to it has become a universal feature of every important and growing village. That the decrease in the dealers of food stuffs which must have also increased like the workers in food industries is not real and that there has undoubtedly been a substantial increase amongst them have already been noted before. The total number of persons *jointly* supported by them has increased by 2,264 during the last ten years. Even after making necessary allowance for the inclusion of certain indefinite entries of occupations not connected with food-stuffs, the increase that has taken place is considerable.

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Class C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts

220. Public Force (Sub-Class VI).—Defence as represented by the public force consisting of the State Army, the police and the village watchmen occupies almost the same number of persons as it did ten years ago, the numbers supported at the last two Censuses being 2,485 and 2,475 respectively. While the army supports 677, the police force numbers 1,041. The corresponding figures for the Census of 1921 are 436 and 549 respectively. The general correctness of the present figures will be seen from the marginal statement which compares the Census figures of the public force with those of the departments concerned. Both the Census and departmental totals of persons occupied in the public force approximately correspond, the deficiency of 142 being accounted for by the probable presence of outsiders in the State on the Census Night, as also by the inclusion of watchmen other than the village watchmen. Variations in groups 157 and 158 are due to the fact that the *choukidars* in rural areas are employed both by the revenue and the police departments. The exchange of figures between these two groups is, therefore, responsible for the difference in the two sets of figures. But there is very little difference between the combined totals of groups 157 and 158 which are 1,791 and 1,695 respectively according to the Census and departmental returns.

Group No.	Occupation	Total following occupation		Absolute Variation
		1931	1921	
	Public Force ...	**2,475**	**2,485**	**— 10**
153	Army (Imperial) ...	7	...	...
154	,, (Indian States) ...	677	436	+ 241
155	Navy	...	...	...
156	Air Force	...	...	...
157	Police	1,041	549	+ 492
158	Village watchmen ...	750	1,500	— 750

Group No.	Occupation	Census Figures	Departmental Figures
	Total	**2,468**	**2,326**
153	Army (State) ...	677	631
157	Police	1,041	755
158	Village watchmen ...	750	940

221. Public Administration (Order 44).—The numbers supported by the public administration have increased by 33·9 per cent. during the last ten years. As against 3,320 supported in 1921, there are 4,447 in 1931. Under public administration are grouped (*i*) service of the the State, (*ii*) service of other Indian and foreign States, (*iii*) service of local bodies like the municipality and (*iv*) village officials and servants other than watchmen. In the margin are given the comparative statistics of each of them with the figures of absolute variation. The decreases in groups 161 and 162 are due to the interchangeable character of the groups included under this sub-class, but more particularly to that tendency to give such indefinite reply as *darbari nokari, i.e.*, State service without specifying its precise nature. This tendency was found to be all the more greater in the lower class of village officials. This has resulted in swelling the ranks of group 159 relating to the State service. It will be instructive to remember that from those returned as employed in public administration are excluded (*a*) some of those employed in those specialized departments as engineering, irrigation, agriculture, survey, medi-

Group No.	Occupation	Total following occupation		Absolute variation
		1931	1921	
	Public Administration ...	**4,447**	**3,320**	**+1,127**
159	Service of the State ...	4,003	2,209	+1,794
160	Service of Indian and foreign States	26	19	+ 7
161	Municipal and other local (not village) service ...	241	272	— 31
162	Village officials and servants other than watchmen ...	177	820	— 643

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cal, port and the like, and (*b*) most of the teachers and professors who are assigned to their proper groups as explained in para 192 above. A comparative study of the Census statistics with those of the departmental can be made from the marginal table. The relatively smaller number (*177*) of village officials returned by the Census as compared to the departmental returns which show as many as 1,293 persons occupied in this branch of administration suggests the inevitable conclusion that the rest of the village officials have found their place in group 159 as State servants owing to their returning themselves only as *darbari nokars* and not as village officials which was their more appropriate designation. Again, as nearly all of them are also cultivating tenants, some of them will have been returned as such. Even if the Census figures of 241 servants of local bodies be accepted as correct and shown under the departmental head, a very small increase of 468 in the Census figures over those of the departmental is shown. And this is not unlikely when the specialized departments aforementioned whose statistics are excluded from the departmental figures shown against group 159 are considered along with the agricultural character of village officials and the tendency to enter indefinite occupations. Both the Census and departmental figures thus show a very marked degree of resemblance, if the details are neglected and the figures for the order as a whole are taken into consideration.

Group No.	Occupation	Census figures (1931)	Departmental figures
	Total ...	**4,421**	**3,713**
159	Service of the State ...	4,003	2,420
161	Service of local bodies ...	241	...
162	Village Officials, etc. ...	177	1,293

222. Professions and Liberal Arts.—Sub-class VIII deals with professions and liberal arts. The figures for the five orders of which it consists are shown in the margin. Religion seems to have suffered a significant fall of 21 per cent., as the number of persons now supported have decreased by 1,506 during the last ten years. This order includes such persons as priests, ministers, monks, nuns, religious mendicants, other religious workers and servants in religious edifices, burial grounds and burning *ghats*. There is, however, a very thin line of demarkation between a religious mendicant and a beggar at a temple both of whom claim to support themselves on public charity by appealing to the finer religious sentiments of the people. It is, therefore, better that both these groups be examined together. Even then religion appears to have suffered in public estimation, and supports 1,192 persons less than those in 1921. While 3 more subsist on law and 32 more on medical profession, public instruction occupies more than double the number of those supported in 1921. Neither have letters, arts and sciences lagged behind. During the last ten years they also have doubled the former number of their followers who count in their ranks not only those engaged in such scientific pursuits as architecture, survey, engineering, journalism, art and sculpture, but also astrologers, fortune tellers, musicians, actors, and managers and employees of places of public entertainment. Musicians, etc., the most num-

Order No.	Occupation	Strength in		Variation in per cent.
		1931	1921	
45	Religion ...	5,634	7,140	— 21
46	Law ...	160	157	+ 1·9
47	Medicine ...	437	405	+ 7·9

Order No.	Occupation	Strength in		Variation per cent.
		1931	1921	
48	Instruction ...	1,205	578	+108·6
49	Letters, Arts, etc.	1,077	534	+101·6

Order No.	Occupation	Total following occupation		Absolute Variation
		1931	1921	
	Total ...	**6,113**	**7,305**	**—1,192**
45	Religion ...	5,634	7,140	—1,506
54	Beggars and Vagrants ...	479	165	+ 314

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Contd.*

VARIATION IN CASTE, TRIBE, ETC.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE	PERSONS		VARIATION: INCREASE (+) DECREASE (—)		Proportion of each Caste, Tribe or Race per 1,000 of the Population 1931
	1931	1921	Variation	Percentage	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rajput	23,420	19,664	+ 3,756	+ 19·1	47
Sagar	2,048	1,738	+ 310	+ 17·8	4
Sathvara	1,868	1,546	+ 322	+ 20·8	4
Soni	3,872	4,603	— 731	— 15·8	8
Sutar	5,938	5,025	+ 913	+ 18·1	12
Vaghri	5,658	4,299	+ 1,359	+ 31·6	11
Vania All	*19,379*	*16,519*	*+ 2,860*	*+ 17·3*	*39*
,, Kapol	7,653	6,993	+ 660	+ 9·4	15
,, Shrimai	4,310	5,179	— 869	— 16·8	9
,, Modh	2,747	2,127	+ 620	+ 29·1	6
,, Sorathia	1,072	1,100	— 28	— 2·5	2
Other Vanias	3,597	1,120	+ 2,477	+ 221·2	7
Hindu Unspecified	4,754	18,420	—13,666	— 74·2	10
Jain	*23,579*	*20,017*	*+ 3,562*	*+ 17·7*	*47·1*
Vania	22,138	20,017	+ 2,121	+ 10·6	44
Shrimali	20,780	16,274	+ 4,506	+ 27·6	42
MUSLIM					
Arab	764	734	+ 30	+ 4·0	1·5
Baloch	468	312	+ 156	+ 50·0	0·9
Fakir	1,090	...	...	...	2
Ghanchi	5,481	2,815	+ 2,666	+ 94·7	11
Hajam	402	300	+ 102	+ 34·0	0·8
Khatki	759	580	+ 179	+ 30·8	1·5
Khoja	8,290	7,016	+ 1,274	+ 18·2	17
Luhar	22	79	— 47	— 59·1	...
Memon	7,290	6,592	+ 698	+ 10·6	15
Miyana	12	9	+ 3	+ 33·3	...
Momna	52	113	— 61	— 53·9	...
Pathan	780	803	— 23	— 2·9	1·5
Pinjara	542	481	+ 61	+ 12·7	1
Saiyad	713	662	+ 49	+ 7·8	1
Sindhi	2,423	1,943	+ 480	+ 24·7	5
Sheikh	694	12,007	—11,313	— 94·2	1·3
Sipai	8,506	...	...	...	17
Vohora	2,490	2,203	+ 287	+ 13·0	5
Musalman Unspecified	1,959	321	+ 1,638	+ 510·3	4
PARSI					
Parsi	309	273	+ 36	+ 13·2	0·6
CHRISTIAN	*277*	*163*	*+ 114*	*+ 69·9*	*0·6*
Europeans	26	27	— 1	— 3·7	0·1
Indian Christian	251	136	+ 115	+ 84·5	0·5
Buddhists	32	...	...	...	0·1
Jew	2	14	— 12	— 85·7	...
Atheists	3	...	...	...	...
Animists	66	...	...	...	0·1

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APPENDIX IV

CASTE: PAST AND PRESENT

1. Introductory.—Caste is the most universal social phenomenon in the life of the people of this country. It has infected alike the Hindus, Muslims and Christians, amongst all of whom there are minute divisions and sub-divisions, self-contained autonomous groups regulating the social, religious and economic life of their members. Gradations of one sort or another exist in every human society. In some, they are based upon wealth, in others upon birth. The latter as a basis of social distinction is less fluid than the former whose transitory character and unstable nature affect the strata formed by it. But the fragmentation of the people into ascending and descending groups differentiated by birth helped the Hindu society to develop some of its characteristic features like rigidity and exclusiveness which helped to stereotype myriads of caste groups and drew the pointed attention of foreign observers. These were in their turn multiplied by the prohibition of intermarriage and inter-dining promoted by racial superiority and ritualisic purity, and accentuated by regional and linguistic separateness and functional divisions. Before reviewing the disintegrating forces that are now at work, and gauging the nature and extent of their operation, some idea must be had of the origin of caste and various aspects which characterise it. That is to say that it it necessary to know what caste was in the past in order to understand what it is at the present.

2. Theories of Caste.—No one particular origin can be ascribed to the formation of caste. Different writers on the subject have given different theories of the origin of caste varying according to the importance attached by them to the one or other aspect of its development. But what is important to note is that all these varied aspects of caste have not been simultaneously brought into being. Caste is an organism which has been evolved through centuries and is still evolving itself, the different characteristics by which it is marked having been developed at various times under varied circumstances. Of the various theories advanced as to the origin of caste, the one propounded by Manu or the traditional theory of caste that the four archaic divisions of society, *viz.*, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra emanated from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Brahma, the progenitor, should be set aside as failing to give any scientific explanation of the origin of caste. But what has been styled as Sir Danzil Ibbetson's theory does not mention any cut and dried formula of the origin of caste, but is merely an enumeration of steps in the process of caste formation by which it has been evolved in the Punjab. Neither does he himself claim for it any title of a theory. Nesfield's theory emphasises the functional basis of caste, which co-operated with other factors to promote the compartmentalisation in caste. It is not a theory of its origin, but one of those elements in the making of caste that in course of time tended to promote fission and multiplication of castes. In his *Caste in India*, Emile Senart while tracing it to Aryan origin suggests a variety of causes that have *moulded* the Indian caste system. He says :—

"The caste is, to my mind, the normal continuation of ancient Aryan institutions taking their form according to the variation of conditions and environment which they encountered in India. It would be as inexplicable without this traditional foundation as it would be unintelligible without the racial admixtures which have crossed in it and without the circumstances which have moulded it."[1]

Last but not the least is the theory propounded with great erudition and much scholastic discussion by Sir Herbert Risely that the system rests upon the sense of distinctions of race indicated by differences of colour which served as a basis of fact, subsequently woven by the Brahmans into the fiction of the myth of four castes. Prof. R. N. Gilchrist falls in the same error as the other theorists whom he criticises when he holds up the view that the idea of spirit emanation, so common in all early societies is at the root of caste. He writes :—

"The caste system, to my mind, is simply an application of animism or spiritism to society. In totemistic tribes the totem is the centre of good and evil, the consequent object of worship and the home of spirits. The spirit idea, translated into society, gives social strata each of which contains its particular spirit. The spirit of the highest class is the all-powerful and all-beneficent spirit. It resides in the Brahmans, for whom the reverence and help of the others are, therefore, necessary. This spirit must not be defiled either by direct corporeal touch or by the intermediate method of objects touched by, and therefore containing, the lowest spirits; nor must it come into contact of any kind with the emanations from these lowest spirits."[2]

1. *Caste in India*, p. 213 (Translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E.)
2. *Indian Nationality*, p. 120.

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erous of all those contained in this order have gone up to 835 from 480 in 1921. But amongst the medical men there are 178 *vaidyas* of whom 38 have been returned by the City of Bhavnagar.

Class D—Miscellaneous

223. Miscellaneous Occupations.—The class as a whole has remained stationary. The fluctuations in the various orders comprised therein are shown in the margin. While the persons living on their income have more than doubled, those engaged in rendering domestic service have risen only slightly. Amongst the unproductive classes, criminals are a little fewer than before, though the beggars and vagrants have trebled themselves on account of their not meriting a place in the higher religious order. Considering the never-ceasing stream of beggars, vagrants, etc., which pass up and down the country and the large numbers of them which infest the city streets, *dharmashalas*, etc., the small figure of 479 returned under this class is highly suspicious, and can only be accounted for by the natural reluctance on the part of the habitual beggars, vagrants, etc., to return themselves as such. But the most numerous of all the orders of this class relates to general terms which do not indicate any definite occupation, and contains 16,206 at the present as against 16,172 at the last Census. It has already been noted previously that of these as many as 15,237 are labourers and workmen most of whom should be taken over to group 7 of agricultural labourers.

Order No.	Occupation	Total following occupation		Actual variation
		1931	1921	
	Miscellaneous ...	**20,037**	**19,155**	**+ 882**
50	Persons living on their income	733	318	+ 415
51	Domestic service ...	2,344	2,271	+ 73
52	Indefinite Occupations ...	16,206	16,172	+ 34
53	Jails and asylums ...	212	229	— 17
54	Beggars, vagrants, etc. ...	479	165	+ 314
55	Non-productive industries ...	23	...	+ 23

Section III—Occupations and Caste

224. Fluidity of Occupations.—Under this heading will be considered (*i*) the tendency on the part of certain functional castes to leave their traditional occupations for others, as also (*ii*) the castes which predominate in certain occupations or industries either as earners or working dependants. While the figures for the former are supplied by Imperial Table XI-Part A, information regarding the latter is derived from Imperial Table XI-Part B, and from a special examination of the occupational columns of the general schedules. Functional basis of caste has proved to be the most fluid, and interchange of occupations between members of different castes has been more frequent than before. Brahmans, the exponents of Vedic learning and custodians of ancient wisdom, who were the originators of the four-fold division of society and became later on responsible for its exclusive and rigid character appear to have been the first to break away from it. Though as ministrants in religious ceremonies they continue to jealously guard their traditional monopoly, in the matter of leaving avocations that formerly occupied their forefathers they have set the best example to the members of non-Brahman castes. Excepting a few occupations which are still deemed low in public estimation, no odium attaches to a person-even though he be a Brahman-following a non-hereditary occupation. For, changed outlook on life and stress of modern economic conditions no longer make it possible for men to stick to their original callings. Caste-names, therefore, have ceased to denote that the members belonging to a particular caste follow the occupation formerly plied by their ancestors. Such occupations as agriculture, money-lending and State service are followed by all sections of the population irrespective of their caste and creed.

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225. Tendency to leave Traditionl Occupations.—The general tendency of castes to abandon their traditional occupations will be examined with especial reference to certain functional castes mentioned in Part A of Imperial Table XI. For the purposes of our analysis, the figures have been classified under two heads, *viz.*, (*i*) High Figures and (*ii*) Low Figures. The former are those castes, which have more than 500 per mille of their workers still following their traditional vocation. But those, amongst whom the traditional means of livelihood are forsaken by more than 500 in every thousand of their workers have been shown under the latter and include such castes as Bhangi, Bhavsar, Gola, Kumbhar, Mali, Ghanchi and Pinjara. While the Bhangis may be deemed to have been induced to give up their traditional avocation of scavenging owing to its unclean and more odious character and the *malis* owing to the changed attitude of the people in matters religious, the displacement of manual labour by the use of mechanical power is to a great extent responsible for the gradual disappearance of such home industries as rice pounding, dyeing, printing, oil-pressing and carding. The rice mills, oil mills, ginning and weaving factories and textile mills that are on the increase have compelled people to give up their traditional callings and go out in search of others that will pay them sufficiently for the support of their families. The case of the potters, the earthen wares made by whom are increasingly getting out of vogue, has already been noted before. Among the *golas*, rice pounding is done by 133 persons per mille of their workers. The corresponding proportions of persons following traditional occupations amongst the Bhavsars, Malis, Kumbhars, Ghanchis, Bhangis and Pinjaras are 151, 172, 222, 312, 375 and 387 respectively. But there are many other castes whose traditional functions still continue to be remunerative enough to hold them on to them. The chief among them is the cultivating class of Lewa Kanbis who have 916 out of their thousand workers occupied in agriculture. The less agricultural nature of the other main sub-division of the Kanbis, *viz.*, the Kadva, is disclosed by their having only 568 persons per mille of their workers engaged in their traditional avocation. The sister occupation of cattle breeding and grazing still occupies 858 per mille of the Bharwads. Amongst the artisan castes, the percentages of Kansaras, Sonis, Darjis, Sutars and Mochis following the functions of their forefathers vary from 89 to 77. Their services are still in popular demand, and are not likely to be replaced in the near future, owing to the individualistic nature of their work and the difficulty of concentrating it on an organized basis from under the family roof to that of the factory. Blacksmiths still hold the ground, though to a very less extent than any of the artisan castes mentioned above, as they have only 632 per mille of the *luhars* working at their traditional occupation. Society cannot do without the services of the *dhobis* (848) and *hajams* (718), though the combination of vegetable growing during winter and summer with agriculture on the part of ordinary cultivators seems to have told upon the traditional occupation of

Caste	Name of traditional occupation	Proportion of workers per mille in traditional occupation
HIGH FIGURES		
Bharwad ...	Cattle breeders and graziers ...	858
Chamar ...	Tanners	639
Darji ...	Tailors	812
Dhed ...	Weavers	640
Dhobi ...	Washermen	848
Hajam ...	Barbers	718
Kachhia ...	Cultivators and vegetable sellers	573
Kanbi Kadva ...	Cultivators	568
,, Lewa ...	,, ...	916
Kansara ...	Coppersmiths	888
Luhar ...	Blacksmiths	632
Mochi ...	Shoemakers	769
Soni ...	Goldsmiths	868
Sutar ...	Carpenters	788
LOW FIGURES		
Bhangi ...	Scavengers	375
Bhavsar ...	Calenderers and dyers ...	151
Gola	Rice Pounders	133
Kumbhar ...	Potters	222
Mali	Flower Gardeners ...	172
Ghanchi ...	Oil Pressers	312
Pinjara ...	Cotton Carders	387
Parsi ...	Traders	85

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the Kachhias. 64 per cent. of the Dheds and Chamars continue in their hereditary occupation of weaving and tanning respectively. The extent of variation in the numbers of traditional workers in different functional castes indicates the more or less popular nature of their hereditary callings and measures the utility the public still have for their services as also the degree to which they are affected by the changing modes of living, and the use of machinery.

A special examination of the Census schedules with a view to ascertain the tendency of certain occupational castes towards adopting vocations other than their own submitted some very interesting deductions. The *malis*, only 172 persons of whose 1,000 workers carry on their traditional occupation of flower gardening, find ready employment in the growing building industries as carpenters, masons and labourers assisting them. The same is also the case with the *bhavsars* whose original craft of dyeing and calico printing has suffered immensely by the increasing use of cheaper machine-made cloth. This is clearly evidenced by their having only 151 of their caste men per mille of their workers in the traditional occupation. The *golas* or rice pounders who have got only 133 of their workers in the hereditary occupation seem to have suffered the greatest as a result of rice-mills that have for the most part substituted the labour supplied by them. They are now generally found working as carpenters engaged in producing articles of household use like chairs, shelves, boxes, etc. The growing use of machinery and the consequent demand of technical skill have resulted in the tendency on the part of the more ambitious among the *luhars* and *sutars* to be fitters, machine-men and engineers. Those of the latter who have enough to spare become furniture makers and building contractors. Some of the castes tend to vary their traditional occupations by introducing some sort of division of labour and some element of specialization. For, over and above working in gold and silver for their customers and charging for their labour, the well-to-do among the *sonis* make ornaments and stock them for sale. Some of them tend to be jewellers and money-lenders also. Similarly, some of the *kansaras* are prone merely to stock and sell brass and copper wares. The uncertainty of rains and growing pressure on land have driven some of the *kanbis* to go out for agricultural labour in rural areas, and other sorts of manual labour in towns. The emergence of such mixed occupational castes as Sai-sutar, Luhar-sutar, and Kumbhar-sutar illustrates the growing popularity and widening bounds of the building industries which support as carpenters not only some of the blacksmiths and potters, the decaying nature of whose occupations has been already noticed before, but some of the tailors also who are attracted to them owing to their more remunerative nature. Another instance of this kind is that of Dhobi-bhavsars who include such of the dyers and printers who have adopted the vocation of washing.

226. Castes and their Present Functions.—The predominance of one caste or another in certain important occupations or industries will now be considered. Cotton business, sale of piecegoods and ready made articles of cotton occupy for the most part the Vanias, specially the Visha Shrimalis. Vanias, Modh, Dasha and Shrimali, dominate as grain and provision merchants, and also work as commission agents. But such traditional occupations as making and selling of brass and copper wares, shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, making of jewellery and ornaments, tanning, cattle breeding, grazing and selling of milk, scavenging, pottery and smithy are still carried out by those castes whose forefathers formerly worked at them. There is hardly a caste someone of whose members is not occupied in the business of money-lending. But it is followed to a greater extent by the Modh Vanias than by the members of any other caste. Man's love for status, power and influence offers a great inducement to carry on the business of money-lending. The business tends to raise the lender in the estimation of the borrower over whom he exercises appreciable influence, more particularly in these days of financial stringency when monetary credit is greatly needed but not very easily obtainable. Money-lending, therefore, commends itself to those members of society who have enough to spare for others and thereby earn substantial profits. And some such persons are always to be found amongst almost all castes and creeds. Hence their general existence in every

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caste and religion. Vanias are also the sellers of molasses and *gur*, and the sub-caste of Kapol is generally found to own sugar factories. Dyeing is done both by the Muslim Rangrej and the Hindu Bhavsar and Khatri. But such occupations as selling of fruits, oil, hardware, habberdashery, cutlery, glass-ware, hosiery dyes and colours, paints and varnishes, and toys are mainly in the hands of the Muslims. While except the first two, all the rest are in the hands of the Vohoras, carding of cotton and playing of musical band respectively occupy the Pinjaras and the Langhas. Rent receivers are mostly Rajputs and Kathis. Cultivation of the soil is done chiefly by the Lewa Kanbis and Kolis, though its dominant character is at once remarkable as occupying all shades and castes of people. Agricultural labour is mainly supplied by the Kolis and Kanbis, the former being also employed in ginning and pressing factories. But the cottage industries of spinning and weaving of cotton greatly favour the employment of Dheds to the exclusion of others. Trade in wood (not firewood) is in the hands of Kadva Kanbis, while the restrictions on food and drink favour the Brahmans as owners and managers of hotels and *vishis*. The State army and the police are mostly manned by the Rajputs, who are also to be found in great numbers in the service of the State. 526 of them are in the army, 333 in the police and 509 in the various departments of the State. In the State service are also to be found 842 Brahmans of all kinds, 411 Kolis, 348 Vanias of all kinds, 113 Kanbis, 312 Sipais and 274 other Muslims. The lawyers are mostly Brahmans and Vanias. But only the former dominate as physicians, *vaidyas*, professors and teachers of all kinds, and are assisted by Kanbis, Kolis, Rajputs, Vanias and Sipais in rendering domestic service.

SECTION IV—LABOUR

227. Labour.—The loose applicaction of the term 'labour' is reflected in a very large number of persons returned in the unspecified group of workmen and labourers. As in the West there is no such organized class as labour with assigned functions in the scheme of occupations. The fluid character of labour and the absence of any great industrial development render the division of labour into distinct categories well-nigh impossible. Some important classes of labourers that have been already considered before may well be totalled up at one place for the sake of convenience. The marginal statement shows that the total labour force in the State numbers 75,784. Of these 57,365 have definitely returned themselves as doing field labour. But, if to this figure, 13,765 of the unspecified group working in rural areas be added as already noticed in para 202 above, the total number of persons engaged in agricultural labour amounts to 71,130 or 35 per cent. of the total workers in the state. But there are other categories of labour which, according to Mr. Marten, "contain a considerable proportion of what may be called labour, of which part is definitely associated with the particular industry, but much is only temporarily attached and belongs to the fluid mass of general labour available for every kind of unskilled employment." These number 10,909 as shown in the margin. And if half of this figure be classed as labour, the total strength of labour in the State will be about 88 thousand or 40 per cent. of the total working population. Of these more than 70 per cent are agricultural, the rest being employed in textile industries and other occupations.

Group No.	Occupation	Total occupied
	Total	**75,784**
7	Agricultural labourers ...	53,289
6	Working dependants of tenant cultivators	4,076
104	Dock Labourers	332
106	Road ,, ...	34
113	Railway ,, ...	472
191	Workmen and Labourers unspecified	15,257
	Domestic service	2,344

Occupation	Number occupied
Total	**10,909**
Wood cutters	1,196
Persons occupied with hides and skins	1,313
Basket makers	325
Sweepers and scavengers ...	629
Textile workers	7,446

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SECTION V—OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN

228. The margin discloses the total number of female workers in the State. Of the total working population of the State, 55,863 or 28 per cent. are women workers, *i.e.*, occupied in work either as earners or working dependants. Of the total women workers, 19,027 or 34 per cent. only are earners, the rest being working dependants. The dependent nature of the occupational return of females is thus clearly brought to our notice. Women as earners are small in numbers and proportion, the great bulk of workers amongst them being dependants, rendering assistance in the family occupation. The force of custom and prejudice which confine the activities of the womenfolk mostly to the four corners of the house are very vividly illustrated by their having 66 per cent. of the female workers as mere working dependants. The varying proportions of females in different occupations are supplied by the marginal table which shows the number of female workers–earners and working dependants combined–to 1,000 male workers. Though they largely favour domestic service and insufficiently described occupations, where their ratios are relatively higher, they are found to be in quite a fair proportion in (a) Sub-class I–Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation, (b) Sub-class IX–Persons living on their income, and (c) Sub-class II–Exploitation of Minerals. But an examination of some of the individual groups shown below will be of interest.

Female Workers	Number occupied
Total	**55,863**
Earners	19,027
Working Dependants ...	36,750
Secondary Workers ...	86

SUB-CLASS	OCCUPATION	Number of female workers per 1,000 males
	All Occupations ...	**382**
I	Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	492
II	Exploitation of Minerals ...	303
III	Industry	211
IV	Transport	50
V	Trade	174
VI	Public Force	...
VII	Public Administration	27
VIII	Professions and Liberal Arts ...	104
IX	Persons living on their income ...	571
X	Domestic Service	869
XI	Insufficiently described occupations...	926
XII	Unproductive	212

Group No.	OCCUPATION	Number of female workers			Number of females per 1,000 male workers
		Total workers	Earners	Working Dependants	
1	Non-cultivating proprietors	346	314	32	135
6	Tenant cultivators	5,343	1,989	3,354	128
7	Agricultural labourers	30,807	6,603	24,204	1,370
18	Wood cutters, etc.	498	242	256	713
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning, etc.	270	203	67	588
43	Cotton spinning, etc.	1,556	833	723	362
46	Wool carding, etc.	270	243	27	3,913
51	Working in leather	214	116	98	198
63	Potters, etc.	561	213	348	376
71	Rice pounders and huskers, etc.	381	291	90	16,565
83	Tailors, etc.	145	16	129	80
100	Scavenging	258	234	24	695
115	Bank managers, money-lenders, etc.	297	275	22	278
122	Trade in thatches, etc.	185	70	115	2,202
131	Dealers in dairy products, etc.	1,296	365	931	2,107
145	Dealers in firewood, etc.	619	402	217	2,211
164	Monks and nuns, etc.	492	348	144	112
172	Midwives, etc.	57	50	7	613
174	Professors and teachers, etc.	158	158	...	169
185	Proprietors, etc.	281	240	41	571
187	Other domestic service	1,090	363	727	895
191	Labourers and workmen	7,786	3,551	4,235	1,031
192	Inmates of jails, asylums, etc.	13	...	13	65

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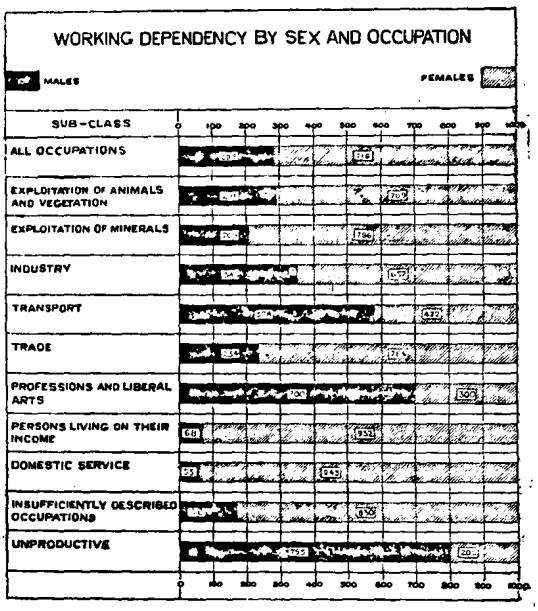
The foregoing table shows some of the more important groups of occupations which occupy the females. The numerically important groups relate to cultivating tenants and agricultural labourers which occupy as many as 36,150 women. Unspecified labour occupies 7,786 and enables them to work independently of men. They figure as earners in all the groups considered by the statement except the last which can have no independent earner. As cutters of wood and collectors of forest produce, at the spinning wheel and at the hand-loom, as rice-pounders, tailors, potters and scavengers, the lower strata of society work shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk and materially contribute to supplement their earnings. Amongst the Bharwads the assistance of their females in selling milk and breeding sheep is substantial. Widows of monied men will be returned as earners, though doing nothing, and subsisting either on rent or interest. But amongst the higher strata which forbid their females go out in search of employment, such professions as those of teachers, nurses and midwives are slowly becoming the means of subsistence of a few of them, and find especial favour with those Hindu widows whose helpless condition forces them to be self-supporting.

229. Working Dependency among Women.—But it is only as dependants that women are chiefly found at work. Working dependency by sex is illustrated by the marginal diagram, which shows the the proportions of males and females in one thousand of the working dependants in those occupations in which they are mostly employed. It seems that the lower classes, more particularly the artisan class, are ready to avail themselves of the services of their females who do not suffer in dignity by working for bread. The wives of cultivators, weavers and shepherds fully co-operate in the economic life of their males who profit by the assistance they render and the consequent reduction of expenses after labour which they would have otherwise to incur. Females of lower strata who have no family calling to occupy go out either as domestic servants or unskilled labourers. It will be significant to note that there are as many as 27,558 females assisting in cultivation as against 4,235 returned in the unspecified group (191). The ratio of female workers is found to be higher than that of the male amongst agricultural labourers, wool carders, rice pounders, thatchers of huts, dealers in dairy produce and firewood, etc., and unspecified labourers. The statement given in the preceding para also corroborates the remarks made above. They are the most numerous in agricultural industry where they supply the labour at the sowing, reaping and harvest time.



230. Woman whether a Worker or Dependant.—The claim of woman to be treated as a worker has been variously contested. Though there have not

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been a few instances in which she has been acclaimed as a worker, the subordinate position which she occupies in life has earned for her the general epithet of a 'dependant'. The status and position of women differ in India from those of other countries where economic considerations and the necessity to maintain a certain high standard of living make it imperative for their European sisters to leave their homes for outdoor employment. The result is that such occupations as those of a typist, store-keeper, saleswoman, nurse, teacher and certain domestic occupations are exclusively reserved for women. Political freedom and enfranchisement of women have brought in their wake notions of economic independence of women and their emancipation from subservience to men for the supply of their daily needs. The difference in the outlook on and ideal of life determines the proportions of women workers in the East and West. In this country the activities of a woman are mainly confined to the household, her main object in life being to be an ideal *gruhini* or housewife. In the ancient division of work, the hard outdoor duties of earning and supporting a family were assigned to man, the physiological differences in the constitution of both the sexes operating to assign the less trying yet more loving cares of the family to the woman. Her emotional and sentimental character were deemed to make her more fitted to assist her husband in the management of the household affairs. There was a sort of division of labour, the functions of the stronger and weaker sexes being determined after due deference to their physical fitness and temperamental aptitudes. Women thus usefully occupy themselves in the work of the household by rendering services which would have to be otherwise secured. It is, therefore, not true to say that the woman is not a worker and essentially a dependant in the State. She is undoubtedly a dependant in the sense that she is not in a position to maintain herself independently of man, her hapless condition on the death of her husband being the most disconcerting aspect of her economic life. It is this feature which is responsible for the absence of such professions and domestic arts as can profitably employ the women of the State. But her contribution to the family work is substantial, and in many cases hers is a life of drudgery working ceaselessly from morn to night. For the purposes of occupational analysis, society should be ranged into two sections. The higher strata of society comprising the upper classes, especially the Brahman, Vania, Rajput and a few other castes, do not allow their women to move about and employ themselves in outdoor occupations. They have not seen the necessity of sending out their females for work, and even in those extreme instances where their assistance will be of great help in making the two ends meet, prejudice operates against their leaving the household. They work in the family, and do some useful work in the management of the household. But outside the house they cannot work in lieu of remuneration, as it is deemed derogatory on the part of males to ask their females to go out for earning. Those females of the higher castes who formerly betook themselves to independent earning suffered in status and respectability. But the restriction is getting laxer day by day in certain directions. The pitiable condition of widows has excited public sympathy, and drawn much popular support in favour of their adopting certain occupations. Nursing, midwifery, and teaching are the professions, that are increasingly adopted by females of higher castes, especially amongst the widowed. But instances of married females—and spinsters than are few—working for money are not wanting, in which case the males of the higher classes readily avail themselves of the earnings of their fair partners. But beyond the three mentioned above, there are no other occupations which are followed by the educated women of the higher classes, though some of their uneducated sisters who are hard pressed for money are forced to support themselves on domestic service, or by cooking on the part of the Brahman widows.

231. Women's Callings.—There is no likelihood of any change in the attitude of the people—either males or females—in the near future who think that women should not be made to go out for work, so long as males can support them. Social customs like early marriages do not make it imperative for the unmarried to earn. For it has been said that females are supported by their parents

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in childhood, by their husbands in youth, and by their sons in old age. And the adage adds that so a woman does not deserve to be independent. The question also remains to be considered as to how far women can spare time from household work to devote to such persuits as can prove productive and remunerative. And to this end, development of certain domestic arts which can occupy them during their leisure hours is greatly essential. If there is real unemployment resulting from the absence of occupations which can utilise the services of men, it is no use complicating the problem by releasing those forces by a movement for the emyloyment of women. If there is to be any division of labour, it must be based on well thought out principles. There is no physical barrier in women's adopting men's callings. But in order that the division may be truly scientific, those professions which the males are by their nature more fitted to adopt, should be reserved solely for them, but those which the weaker sex can ply with advantage, should be set aside for them. The question of the economic dependence of women will have to be tackled sooner or later, and it would be better to profit by the experience of others and plan future action without blindly imitating them. The problem of economic dependence is greater only amongst those classes whose widows generally do not remarry and cannot go out for work. But amongst the masses the question is not so complicated as their women and children assist the earning members both as independent earners and working dependants. In some cases as rice pounding, selling of milk they contribute even more than males. Thus considered total dependency exists only amongst the widows and those women of the higher and middle castes who have leisure enough to be turned into productive channels. The economic loss arising from the segregation of women owing to the wide-spread prejudice against the employment of female labour is nonetheless considerable.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDANTS

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER	Number per 10,000 of total population	PERCENTAGE RECORDED	
		In cities and urban industrial areas	In rural areas
1	2	3	4
A Production of Raw Materials	**2,274**	**7**	**93**
I Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*2,262*	*6*	*94*
1 Pasture and Agriculture	2,261·7	6	94
2 Fishing and Hunting	·3	44	56
II Exploitation of Minerals	*12*	*57*	*43*
3 Metallic Minerals	...	...	...
4 Non-metallic Minerals	12	57	43
B Preparation and Supply of Material Substances ...	**1,036**	**51**	**49**
III Industry	*550*	*46*	*54*
5 Textiles	148	43	57
6 Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom	26	14	86
7 Wood	56	50	50
8 Metals	38	49	51
9 Ceramics	43	25	75
10 Chemical products so-called and analogous	23	50	50
11 Food Industries	31	69	31
12 Industries of dress and the toilet	113	36	64
13 Furniture industries	1	88	12
14 Building industries	25	78	22
15 Construction of means of transport	1	52	48
16 Production and transmission of physical force ...	1	97	3
17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	44	74	26
IV Transport	*99*	*64*	*36*
18 Transport by air	...	...	...
19 Transport by water	30	61	39
20 Transport by road	21	86	14
21 Transport by rail	42	55	45
22 Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services ...	6	62	38
V Trade	*387*	*56*	*44*
23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance...	24	59	41
24 Brokerage, commission and export	8	92	8
25 Trade in textiles	42	81	19
26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	2	13	87
27 Trade in wood	13	61	39
28 Trade in metals	5	92	8
29 Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	2	40	60

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—*contd.*

EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDANTS

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER	Number per 10,000 of total population	PERCENTAGE RECORDED	
		In cities and urban industrial areas	In rural areas
1	2	3	4
30 Trade in chemical products	3	91	9
31 Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	17	72	28
32 Other trade in food stuffs	150	50	50
33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	9	74	26
34 Trade in furniture	4	98	2
35 Trade in building materials	1	...	100
36 Trade in means of transport	11	81	19
37 Trade in fuel	18	42	58
38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	7	88	12
39 Trade of other sorts	80	37	63
C Public Administration and Liberal Arts	296	46	54
VI Public force	*49*	*54*	*46*
40 Army	14	100	...
41 Navy	...	...	...
42 Air force	...	...	...
43 Police	35	36	64
VII Public Administration	*82*	*66*	*34*
44 Public Administration	82	66	34
VIII Professions and Liberal Arts	*165*	*34*	*66*
45 Religion	108	25	75
46 Law	3	98	2
47 Medicine	9	80	20
48 Instruction	24	59	41
49 Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	21	21	79
D Miscellaneous	397	33	67
IX Persons living on their income	*15*	*84*	*16*
50 Persons living principally on their income	15	84	16
X Domestic service	*47*	*54*	*46*
51 Domestic service	47	54	46
XI Insufficiently described occupations	*322*	*28*	*72*
52 General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation	322	28	72
XII Unproductive	*13*	*48*	*52*
53 Inmates of Jails, asylums, and alms houses	4	98	2
54 Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	8	18	82
55 Other unclassified non-productive industries	1	100	...

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II-A

DISTRIBUTION BY SUB-CLASSES OF EARNERS-(PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDANTS

STATE AND CITY	TOTAL 1,000			NUMBER PER MILLE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OCCUPIED AS EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDANTS IN									
				Sub-Class I Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation		Sub-Class II Exploitation of Minerals		Sub-Class III Industry		Sub-Class IV Transport		Sub-Class V Trade	
	Non-Working dependants	Working-dependants	Earners (Principal Occupation)	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Bhavnagar State ...	595·7	102·6	301·7	147	79·3	1	0·2	49	5·6	10	0·6	35	3·6
Bhavnagar City ...	656	18	326	19	2·2	0·5	0·6	86·6	2·7	34·6	0·5	76·1	2·8

STATE AND CITY	NUMBER PER MILLE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OCCUPIED AS EARNERS (PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION) AND WORKING DEPENDANTS IN													
	Sub-Class VI Public-Force		Sub-Class VII Public Administration		Sub-Class VIII Professions and Liberal Arts		Sub-Class IX Persons living on their income		Sub-Class X Domestic service		Sub-Class XI Insufficiently described Occupations		Sub-Class XII Unproductive	
	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants	Earners	Working dependants
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Bhavnagar State ...	5	...	8	...	15	1·1	1	...	3	1·5	22	10·2	0·6	0·5
Bhavnagar City ...	14·3	...	23·6	...	19·5	0·8	5·6	0·4	13·5	0·4	31·7	4·8	0·9	2·7

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II-B

EARNERS (SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION)

STATE AND CITY	NUMBER PER MILLE OF TOTAL POPULATION OF EARNERS HAVING A SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION IN											
	Sub-Class I Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	Sub-Class II Exploitation of Minerals	Sub-Class III Industry	Sub-Class IV Transport	Sub-Class V Trade	Sub-Class VI Public-force	Sub-Class VII Public Administration	Sub-Class VIII Professions and Liberal Arts	Sub-Class IX Persons living on their income	Sub-Class X Domestic service	Sub-Class XI Insufficiently described occupations	Sub-Class XII Unproductive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bhavnagar State ...	1·13	0·01	0·44	0·15	0·67	0·03	0·71	0·50	0·03	0·02	0·15	0·19
Bhavnagar City ...	0·04	...	0·03	...	0·14	...	...	...	0·08	...	0·03	...

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Order	OCCUPATION	Population supported in 1931	Population supported in 1921	Percentage of Variation from 1921 to 1931
1	2	3	4	5
	Class A—Production of Raw Materials	**1,14,337**	**62,719**	+ **82.3**
	SUB-CLASS I—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*1,13,713*	*62,358*	+ *82·3*
1	Pasture and Agriculture	1,13,665	62,346	+ 82·3
2	Fishing and Hunting	48	12	+ 300
	SUB-CLASS II—Exploitation of Minerals ...	*624*	*361*	+ *72·8*
3	Metallic Minerals	...	...	...
4	Non-metallic Minerals	624	361	+ 72·8
	Class B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	**52,473**	**43,419**	+ **20·8**
	SUB CLASS III—Industry	*27,748*	*22,866*	+ *21·3*
5	Textiles	7,446	6,853	+ 8·9
6	Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom	1,313	1,349	— 2·6
7	Wood	2,831	1,556	+ 81·9
8	Metals	1,910	1,364	+ 40
9	Ceramic	2,140	3,335	— 35·8
10	Chemical products properly so-called and analogous...	1,168	59	+ 1,879·6
11	Food Industries	1,578	491	+ 221·3
12	Industries of dress and the toilet	5,723	5,310	+ 7·7
13	Furniture Industries	65	67	— 2·9
14	Building Industries	1,281	686	+ 89·6
15	Construction of means of transport	44	41	+ 7·3
16	Production and transmission of physical force ...	39	9	+ 333·3
17	Miscellaneous and undefined industries	2,210	1,746	+ 26·5
	SUB-CLASS IV—Transport	*5,008*	*5,784*	— *13·4*
18	Transport by air	...	...	...
19	Transport by water	1,488	1,584	— 6·2
20	Transport by Road	1,091	1,434	— 23·9
21	Transport by Rail	2,121	2,611	— 18·7
22	Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Services ...	308	155	+ 98·7
	SUB-CLASS V—Trade	*19,717*	*14,769*	+ *33·8*
23	Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	1,365	1,173	+ 16·3
24	Brokerage, commission and export	393	225	+ 74·6
25	Trade in textiles	2,108	1,549	+ 36·1
26	Trade in skins, leather and furs	86	110	— 21·8
27	Trade in wood	694	344	+ 101·7
28	Trade in metals	277	252	+ 9·9

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III—*Contd.*

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Order	OCCUPATION	Population supported in 1931	Population supported in 1921	Percentage of Variation from 1921 to 1931
1	2	3	4	5
29	Trade in pottery, bricks, and tiles	10	41	— 75·6
30	Trade in chemical products	154	43	+ 258·1
31	Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	903	138	+ 554·3
32	Other trade in food stuffs	7,602	8,119	— 6·3
33	Trade in clothing and toilet articles	50	68	— 26·4
34	Trade in furniture	207	114	+ 81·6
35	Trade in building materials	7	106	— 93·4
36	Trade in means of transport	573	7	+ 8,085·7
37	Trade in fuel	899	463	+ 94·1
38	Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	337	310	+ 8·7
39	Trade of other sorts	4,052	1,707	+ 137·3
	Class C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts ...	**15,436**	**14,619**	**+ 5·6**
	SUB-CLASS VI—Public force	*2,475*	*2,485*	*— 0·4*
40	Army	684	436	+ 56·8
41	Navy	...	...	...
42	Air Force	...	...	...
43	Police	1,791	2,049	— 12·6
	SUB-CLASS VII—Public Administration	*4,447*	*3,320*	*+ 33·9*
44	Public Administration	4,447	3,320	+ 33·9
	SUB-CLASS VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts ...	*8,514*	*8,814*	*— 3.4*
45	Religion	5,634	7,140	— 21·1
46	Law	160	157	+ 1·9
47	Medicine	437	405	+ 7·9
48	Instruction	1,206	578	+ 108·6
49	Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44) ...	1,077	534	+ 101·6
	Class D—Miscellaneous	**20,037**	**19,155**	**+ 4·6**
	SUB-CLASS IX—Persons living on their income ...	*773*	*318*	*+ 143*
50	Persons living principally on their income ...	773	318	+ 143
	SUB-CLASS X—Domestic Service	*2,344*	*2,271*	*+ 3·2*
51	Domestic service...	2,344	2,271	+ 3·2
	SUB-CLASS XI—Insufficiently described Occupations	*16,206*	*16,172*	*+ 0·2*
52	General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation	16,206	16,172	+ 0·2
	SUB-CLASS XII—Unproductive	*714*	*394*	*+ 81·2*
53	Inmates of Jails, asylums, and alms houses ...	212	229	— 7·4
54	Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	479	165	+ 190.3
55	Other unclassified non-productive industries ...	23	...	...

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

OCCUPATION OF SELECTED CASTES

CASTE AND OCCUPATION	Number per 1,000 workers engaged in each occupation	Number of female workers per 1,000 males
1	2	3
HINDU		
Bhangi		
Scavengers	*375*	*749*
Field labourers, etc. ...	106	38
Industries	128	82
Arts and professions ...	276	2
Labourers unspecified...	77	710
Others	38	1,000
Bharwad		
Cattle-breeders and grasiers	*858*	*104*
Cultivators	45	10
Field Labourers, etc. ...	33	593
Public Administration ...	23	...
Labourers unspecified ...	23	98
Others	18	67
Bhavsar		
Calenderers and Dyers ...	*157*	...
Industries	322	89
Trade	316	21
Others	211	185
Chamar		
Tanners	*639*	*105*
Field Labourers, etc. ...	152	1,429
Trade	49	...
Labourers unspecified ...	84	958
Others	76	104
Darji		
Tailors	*812*	*47*
Cultivators	22	364
Field labourers, etc. ...	41	425
Industries	52	93
Labourers unspecified ...	31	6,000
Others	42	344
Dhed		
Weavers	*640*	*223*
Field labourers, etc. ...	127	675
Industries	108	199
Labourers Unspecified ...	68	749
Beggars	11	146
Others	46	253
Dhobi		
Washermen	*848*	*437*
Others	152	140
Gola		
Rice pounders	*133*	...
Others	867	...
Hajam		
Barbers	*718*	*1*
Cultivators	71	113
Field labourers, etc. ...	74	1,522
Industries	27	274
Labourers unspecified ...	37	2,107
Others	73	152
Kachhia		
Cultivators and vegetable sellers	*573*	*15*
Industries	205	...
Trade	101	233
Others	121	913
Kanbi Kadva		
Cultivators	*568*	*114*
Industries	74	18
Trade	150	4
Domestic service ...	117	47
Others	91	985
Kanbi Lewa		
Cultivators	*916*	*105*
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc. ...	4	...
Field labourers, etc. ...	11	1,033
Industries	11	80
Trade	11	10
Public Administration ...	5	...
Labourers unspecified ...	32	398
Others	10	242
Kansara		
Coppersmiths	*888*	*19*
Others	112	606
Kumbhar		
Potters	*222*	*148*
Cultivators	302	37
Field labourers, etc. ...	221	664
Industries	92	37
Labourers unspecified ...	114	700
Others	49	110
Luhar		
Blacksmiths	*632*	*5*
Cultivators	36	210
Field labouers, etc. ...	42	1,719
Industries	181	22
Others	109	548
Mali		
Flower gardeners ...	*172*	*276*
Industries	367	13
Others	461	131
Mochi		
Shoe-makers	*769*	*72*
Field labourers, etc. ...	77	1,014
Others	154	567
Soni		
Goldsmiths	*868*	*2*
Labourers Unspecified ...	29	14,500
Others	103	897
Sutar		
Carpenters	*788*	*10*
Cultivators	45	28
Field labourers. etc. ...	33	2,667
Industries	52	24
Others	82	734
MUSALMAN		
Ghanchi		
Oil pressers	*312*	*43*
Cultivators	175	11
Field labourers, etc. ...	62	324
Industries	76	240
Transport	133	...
Trade	56	72
Labourers unspecified ...	114	543
Others	72	262
Pinjara		
Cotton carders	*387*	*276*
Others	613	219
PARSI		
Parsi		
Traders	85	...
Industries	255	...
Transport	273	...
Public Administration ...	151	143
Others	236	87
CHRISTIAN		
Indian Cristians		
Transport	402	...
Public Administration ...	159	63
Others	439	237

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

Occupations of Females by Classes, Sub-classes and Selected Orders and Groups

Group No.	OCCUPATION	Number of Actual Workers		Number of Females per 1,000 Males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
	Total working Population	**1,31,836**	**19,113**	**145**
	A—Production of Raw Materials	**65,094**	**9,437**	**145**
	I—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	*64,637*	*9,378*	*145*
	1 Pasture and Agriculture	64,591	9,376	145
	(*a*) Cultivation	58,151	8,920	153
1	Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind ...	2,548	314	123
6	Tenant Cultivators	41,071	1,989	48
7	Agricultural labourers	13,879	6,603	476
	(*b*) Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (Planters, managers, clerks and labourers)	681	40	59
	(*c*) Forestry	677	243	359
18	Wood cutters and charcoal burners	642	242	377
	(*d*) Stock raising	5,080	173	34
23	Herdsmen, Shepherds, and breeders of other animals ...	4,299	113	27
	(*e*) Raising of small animals and insects	2	...	...
	2 Fishing and hunting	46	2	43
	II—Exploitation of Minerals	*457*	*59*	*129*
	3 Metallic Minerals	...	...	...
	4 Non-Metallic minerals	457	59	129
	B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances ...	**43,028**	**4,731**	**110**
	III—Industry	*21,937*	*2,997*	*137*
	5 Textiles	4,981	1,342	269
42	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	433	203	469
43	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	4,076	833	204
46	Wool carding, spinning and weaving	67	243	3,627
	6 Hides, skins, and hard materials from the animal kingdom ...	1,042	116	111
51	Working in leather	1,022	116	114
	7 Wood	2,590	68	26
	8 Metals	1,796	22	13
	9 Ceramics	1,436	239	166
63	Potters and makers of earthen-ware	1,378	213	155
	10 Chemical products properly so-called and analogous ...	1,028	60	58
68	Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils	1,005	57	57
	11 Food Industries	852	560	657
71	Rice-pounders and huskers and flour grinders ...	23	291	12,652
78	Manufacturers of Tobacco	289	130	450
81	Others	28	101	3,607
	12 Industries of dress and the toilet	5,045	252	50
83	Tailors, milliners, dress-makers, and darners	1,674	116	69
85	Washing and cleaning	259	57	220
86	Barbers, hair-dressers, and wig-makers	1,795	63	35
	13 Furniture Industries	54	1	19
	14 Building Industries	1,149	92	80
90	Lime-burners, cement workers, excavators and well sinkers... stone-cutters and dressers, brick layers and masons, builders (other than buildings made of bamboo or similar materials) painters, decorators of houses, tilers, plumbers, etc. ...	1,149	92	80
	15 Construction of means of transport	43	...	...
	16 Production and transmission of physical force	38	1	26
	17 Miscellaneous and undefined industries	1,883	244	130
100	Scavenging	367	234	638
	IV—Transport	*4,722*	*203*	*43*
	18 Transport by air	...	...	...
	19 Transport by water	1,407	59	42
104	Labourers employed on harbours, docks, rivers and canals...	271	47	173
	20 Transport by Road	937	114	122
111	Porters and messengers	896	101	113
	21 Transport by rail	2,070	30	14
	22 Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services	308	...	...
	V—Trade	*16,369*	*1,531*	*94*
	23 Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance ...	1,047	275	236
115	Bank managers, money lenders, exchange and insurance agents, money changers and brokers and their employees	1,047	275	263

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—*contd.*

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY CLASSES, SUB-CLASSES AND SELECTED ORDERS AND GROUPS

Group No.	OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS		Number of Females per 1,000 Males
		Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5
	24 Brokerage, commission and export	389	1	3
	25 Trade in textiles	2,079	7	0·5
	26 Trade in skins, leather and furs	83	...	...
	27 Trade in wood	490	89	182
122	Trade in thatches and other forest produce	84	70	833
	28 Trade in metals	274	...	...
	29 Trade in pottery, bricks, and tiles	10	...	...
	30 Trade in chemical products	146	5	34
	31 Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	863	25	29
	32 Other trade in food stuffs	5,918	609	103
130	Dealers in sweetmeats, sugar and spices	948	85	90
131	Dealers in dairy products, eggs and poultry	601	365	607
134	Dealers in other food stuffs	993	77	78
	33 Trade in clothing and toilet articles	26	13	500
	34 Trade in furniture	200	3	15
	35 Trade in building materials	3	...	...
	36 Trade in means of transport	565	1	2
	37 Trade in fuel	273	402	1,473
145	Dealers in firewood, charcoal, coal, cowdung, etc. ...	273	402	1,473
	38 Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	335	...	...
	39 Trade of other sorts	3,667	101	28
150	General store-keepkers and shop keepers, otherwise unspecified ...	3,512	101	29
	C—Public Administration and Liberal Arts	**14,109**	**722**	**51**
	VI.—Public Force	*2,465*	...	...
	40 Army	684	...	...
	41 Navy...	...	...	...
	42 Air force	...	...	...
	43 Police	1,781	...	...
	VII.—Public Administration	*4,329*	*87*	*20*
	44 Public Administration	4,329	87	20
159	Service of the State	3,946	57	14
	VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts	*7,315*	*634*	*87*
	45 Religion	4,731	391	83
161	Monks, nuns, religious Mendicants	4,051	348	86
	46 Law	159	...	...
	47 Medicine	377	53	167
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	93	50	537
	48 Instruction	1,027	179	175
174	Professors, and teachers of all kinds...	935	158	169
	49 Letters, arts, sciences	1,021	12	12
	D—Miscellaneous	**9,605**	**4,223**	**440**
	IX.—Persons living on their income	*489*	*240*	*491*
	50 Persons living principally on their income	489	240	491
185	Proprietors (other than agricultural land), fund and scholarships holders and pensioners	489	240	491
	X.—Domestic Service...	*1,212*	*363*	*300*
	51 Domestic service	1,212	363	300
187	Other domestic service	1,182	363	703
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations	*7,547*	*3,555*	*471*
	52 General terms, which do not indicate, a definite occupation ...	7,547	3,555	471
191	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	6,583	3,551	539
	XII.—Unproductive	*357*	*65*	*182*
	53. Inmates of Jails, asylums, and alms houses ...	...	...	...
	54. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	334	65	195
193	Beggars and vagrants	334	65	195
	55. Other unclassified non-productive industries	23	...	...

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON RAILWAY, IRRIGATION AND POST OFFICE ON THE NIGHT OF THE 26TH FEBRUARY 1931

CLASS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED	EUROPEANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS	INDIANS
1	2	3
RAILWAY		
Total Persons employed	*3*	*3,050*
Persons directly employed	*3*	*2,845*
OFFICERS	*3*	9
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 P.M.	...	71
" " from Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 P.M.	...	1,172
" " under Rs. 20 P.M.	...	1,593
Persons indirectly employed	...	*205*
Contractors	...	24
Cotractors' regular employees	...	181
Coolies	...	...
IRRIGATION		
Total Persons employed	...	*39*
Persons directly employed	...	*31*
Officers	...	...
Upper subordinates	...	11
Lower "	...	4
Clerks	...	6
Peons and other servants	...	10
Coolies	...	...
Persons indirectly employed	...	*8*
Contractors	...	...
Contractors' regular employees	...	...
Coolies	...	8

POST AND TELEGRAPH

CLASS OF PERSONS	POST OFFICE		TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT	
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indians
1	2	3	4	5
Total Persons employed	...	**251**	1	33
Supervising Officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of Post Offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all Officers of higher rank than these)	...	3	...	1
Post Masters including Deputy Assistants, Sub and Branch Post masters	...	45	...	...
Signalling establishments including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists, and other employees	...	...	1	8
Miscellaneous agents, school masters, station masters, etc....	...	31	...	...
Clerks of all kinds	...	31	...	3
Postmen	...	91	...	...
Skilled labour establishment including foremen, instrument makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen, line-riders and other employees ...	...	" ...	...	2
Unskilled labour establishment including line-coolies, cable-guards, batterymen, telegraph messengers, peons and other employees	...	21	...	19
Road establishment consisting of overseers, runners, clerks and booking agents, boatmen, syces, coachmen, bearers, and others	...	29	...	...

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

MAHAL	Handlooms	Handlooms with flying shuttles	Spinning wheels	Hand gins	Oil mills worked by hand or ox	Sugarcane crushing mills worked by hand or ox	Family using hand sewing machines	Sewing machines of all kinds	Workers in brass
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total ...	**1,992**	**132**	**8,121**	**293**	**624**	**137**	**1,204**	**1,418**	**194**
Bhavnagar City ...	30	13	440	10	56	5	356	536	36
Daskroi (Ex. of Bhavnagar City) ...	213	11	115	29	29	3	37	48	...
Sihor	181	...	362	7	66	8	57	70	100
Umrala	172	35	803	43	45	47	66	76	
Gadhada	79	1	184	10	31	3	40	71	4
Botad	207	...	551	70	51	3	88	88	7
Lilia	124	1	579	39	44	26	47	61	7
Kundla	423	51	1,060	58	76	15	168	178	12
Victor	89	...	151	13	41	1	46	52	8
Mahuva	294	11	491	7	131	11	205	139	15
Talaja	180	9	385	7	54	15	94	99	2

MAHAL	Workers in bronze (bell metal)	Potters	Factories of cabinet-makers employing two or more carpenters making chairs, wheels, etc.	Iron foundaries worked by two or more blacksmiths	Oil engines used for raising water	Dyers and printers of cloth	Basket makers	Tanneries	Toy makers
1	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Total ...	**151**	**1,070**	**517**	**474**	**38**	**176**	**279**	**921**	**57**
Bhavnagar City ...	3	93	90	37	11	54	5	38	13
Daskroi (Ex. of Bhavnagar City) ...	6	64	22	24	4	15	6	36	...
Sihor	126	89	27	27	1	14	17	57	...
Umrala	...	87	32	35	2	10	25	76	...
Gadhada	4	62	19	19	3	9	21	117	...
Botad	...	120	45	31	1	3	39	148	1
Lilia	...	61	32	22	2	...	18	22	...
Kundla	1	188	76	102	5	16	49	248	4
Victor	8	58	18	21	1	5	18	40	13
Mahuva	2	146	129	95	6	39	23	96	25
Talaja	1	102	27	61	2	99	58	43	1

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APPENDIX I

LIVESTOCK CENSUS

1. Introductory.—Like the enumeration of the people, the enumeration of cattle has also become a regular feature of the decennial Census. But the Royal Commission on Agriculture, having recommended the simultaneous taking of an All-India Census of agricultural livestock, etc., the Government of India desired the Indian States to fall into line, and carry out a cattle Census. Accordingly a more elaborate cattle Census than any hitherto undertaken was carried out by Bhavnagar on the 11th February 1930, along with the rest of India. And so it was thought unnecessary to have a fresh enumeration of cattle only a year later, *i.e.*, in February, 1931, when the general population Census fell due. The estimates of cattle, agricultural implements and carts are prepared annually by the Revenue Department in the form of statements submitted by it to the Darbar. The present Appendix aims at considering the statistics of variation for the past three enumerations. As the figures for the total number of cattle only, but not of their different kinds, are available for the year 1901, they are not capable of being utilised for the purpose of instituting any helpful comparison. They have been, therefore, purposely left out of account. But at the Census of 1911, all the different kinds of bovine population were distinguished from other animals like sheep, goats, horses, camels and donkeys. Carts, carriages and ploughs were also shown separately. But the statistics compiled in 1930 were the most comprehensive in that they supplied the details about agricultural implements in addition to the further distinctions made as regards the various kinds of oxen found in the State. While the *ekkas* were shown separately from carts and carriages, the nature of ownership was indicated along with the purpose for which the latter were maintained. All these different kinds of statistics were abstracted severally for the Darbari Khedutş, Bhayats, Mulgirassias, Barkhali landholders and others. The tables compited from this material have been already printed in two booklets. Only some of the important aspects of the statistics of cattle Census will, therefore, be examined here.

2. Accuracy of the Return.—The Census of livestock is taken through the usual agency of the ordinary village officials. The trustworthiness of the figures, therefore, depends upon the intelligence of the enumerators, and varies inversely as the degree of complexity introduced in the classification of animals. But it may be pointed out that the distinctions made at the past Census were too numerous to be faithfully observed by the enumerators while making the record. But at the same time it must be admitted that the Census statistics being the result of special arrangements made under the supervision of higher officials should be credited with that degree of workable accuracy necessary for drawing broad and general inferences.

3. Variation Since 1911.—The statement given below compares the agricultural and non-agricultural animals enumerated in 1911, 1921 and 1930. The figures of actual and proportional variations are also shown.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

VARIATION IN AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL ANIMALS SINCE 1911

CATTLE	CENSUS YEAR			Variation: Increase(+) Decrease (—)		Net variation Increase + Decrease—	Percentage variation Increase (+) Decrease (—)		Percentage Net variation Increase (+) Decrease (—)
	1911	1921	1930	1911-21	1921-30	1911-30	1911-21	1921-30	1911-30
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total ...	4,73,055	4,56,798	5,73,850	+ 16,257	+ 1,17,052	+1,00,795	— 3·4	+ 25·6	+ 21·3
Agricultural Animals ...	*2,27,934*	*2,43,077*	*2,95,928*	+ *15,143*	+ *52,851*	+ *67,994*	+ *6·6*	+ *21·7*	+ *29·8*
Cows ...	36,142	47,612	47,478	+ 11,470	— 134	+ 11,336	+ 31·7	— 0·2	+ 31·3
Cow-Calves ...	38,512	40,330	39,217	+ 1,818	— 1,113	+ 705	+ 4·7	— 2·7	+ 1·8
Bullocks ...	73,830	75,59	1,10,231	+ 1,763	+ 34,638	+ 36,401	+ 2·3	+ 45·8	+ 49·3
Male-Buffaloes ...	6,011	4,137	7,105	— 1,874	+ 2,968	+ 1,094	— 31·1	+ 71·7	+ 18·1
Female-Buffaloes ...	44,128	47,536	46,342	+ 3,408	— 1,194	+ 2,214	+ 7·7	— 2·5	+ 5·0
She-Buffalo-calves	29,311	27,869	45,555	— 1,442	+ 17,686	+ 16,244	— 4·9	+ 63·4	+ 55·4
Other Animals ...	*2,45,121*	*2,13,721*	*2,77,922*	— *31,400*	+ *64,201*	+ *32,801*	— *12·8*	+ *30·0*	*13·3*
Goats ...	1,06,790	74,053	1,11,779	— 32,737	+ 37,726	+ 4,989	— 30·6	+ 50·9	+ 4·6
Sheep ...	1,23,278	1,27,228	1,51,739	+ 3,950	+ 24,511	+ 28,461	+ 3·2	+ 19·2	+ 23·0
Horses and Ponies..	7,782	6,588	9,524	— 1,194	+ 2,936	+ 1,742	— 15·3	+ 44·5	+ 22·3
Camels ...	346	102	310	— 244	+ 208	— 36	— 70·5	+ 203·9	— 10·4
Asses ...	6,925	5,750	4,570	— 1,175	— 1,180	— 2,355	— 16·9	— 20·5	— 34·0
Vehicles ...	16,228	15,171	20,430	— 1,057	+ 5,259	+ 4,202	— 6·5	+ 34·6	+ 25·8

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The total cattle population of the State has increased from 4,73,055 in 1911 to 5,73,850 in 1930, a net increase of 1,00,795 or 21 per cent. during the last nineteen years. But it had fallen to 4,56,798 in 1921, that is to say decreased by 16,234 cattle or 3 per cent. during the decennium 1911–21 upon which the present figures register a rise of 1,17,052 or 25·6 per cent. The total loss of 3 per cent. returned by the Census of 1921 is, however, resolved into a gain of 15,143 or 6·6 per cent. in agricultural cattle and a loss of 31,400 or 12·8 per cent. in other animals. At the current Census, while the increase in the former comes to 21·7 per cent., that in the latter 30. Their respective net increases during the last two decennia are found to be 29·8 and 13·3 per cent.

(*i*) *Agricultural Animals.*—Under this head will be considered the bovine population of the State, *i.e.*, animals of (*a*) the ox tribe, *viz.*, cows, bullocks and their young, and (*b*) male and female buffaloes and their young. Though the cows have increased from 36,142 to 47,478 during the last two decades, when compared to 1921 the present figures show a slight decrease of 134 or ·2 per cent. The calves have also declined by 1,113 or 2·7 per cent. during the last nine years. But as against an increase of only 2 per cent. in 1921, the bullocks have risen by 34,638 or 45·8 per cent. in 1930, the net increase during 1911–30 being 36,401 or 49·3 per cent. It is significant to note that while the increase in the number of cows was 31·7 per cent. in 1921, that in the number of bullocks was only 2·3. Comparing these with the figures of the present Census it is seen that the respective percentages of variation in the numbers of cows and bullocks are a decrease of ·2 and an increase of 45·8. The increase that has taken place during 1921–30 is, therefore, partly natural and partly due to the immigration of bullocks from outside the State. Like the cows, the buffaloes have also decreased during the past decennium. Though they had increased from 44,128 in 1911 to 47,536 in 1921, at the present Census they have fallen off by 1,194 or 2·5 per cent. The net increase in their numbers during the last nineteen years is 2,214 or 5 per cent. But the present Census has seen very large increases in the numbers of male buffaloes and she-buffalo calves which are 2,968 or 71·7 per cent. and 17,686 or 63·4 per cent. respectively.

(*ii*) *Other Animals.*—The variations in the numbers of goats, sheep, horses, camels and asses will be now considered. During 1911–21, all but the sheep which increased by 3,950 or 3 per cent. registered a decline. The highest numerical decrease (32,737) was in the number of goats which fell from 1,06,790 in 1911 to 74,053 in 1921. But they have more than made up their loss during 1921–30 which shows them to have risen by 37,726 or 50·9 per cent. The net increase during 1911–30 is, however, found to be 4,989 or 4·6 per cent. But the sheep are continuously on the increase, and have risen by 28,461 or 23 per cent. during the last nineteen years. While the horses fell by 1,194 and rose by 2,936 in 1921 and 1930 respectively, the net increase in their numbers since 1911 is 1,742 or 22·3 per cent. While the camels which were 346 in 1911, fell to 102 in 1921 and rose to 310 in 1930, the asses are continuously decreasing, their numbers having fallen off to 4,570 at the present Census from 6,925 in 1911. The mules, not shown in the foregoing table on account of their being recorded for the first time in 1930 number 14.

(*iii*) *Carts and Carriages.*—Vehicles of all sorts number 20,430 as against 15,171 in 1921 and 16,228 in 1911, the net increase being 4,202 or 25·8 per cent. Of these, 854 are *ekkas* and *damanias*, 431 carts and *sigarams* used for private purposes, 406 carts run on hire, as many as 18,189 carts used for agricultural and other purposes, and 550 carriages. Of the last named figures, 220 are plied on hire, and 330 are owned by private individuals.

(*iv*) *Ploughs.*—Ploughs are recorded for the first time and number 32,014. It will be of some interest to know that of these, 30,671 are of the indigenous type, 1,124 are made of iron and drawn by four bullocks, 217 are what are termed *vilayati*, and 2 are tractors owned by the State and let out on hire to the *khedutś* on nominal rates.

Reviewing these figures generally, it is noticed that the same trend of the movement of the population which was noticed with regard to the human beings is observed also with regard to the cattle. The 1911 Census was the Census of increase followed by 1921 which was one of decrease so far as the total cattle and other animals were concerned. The decrease was due to the years of scarcity which marked the second quinquennium of 1911–21. But like men, cattle also considerably increased during the past decade. The general satisfactory agricultural conditions seem to have acted favourably upon the growth of cattle population by making available a good supply of fodder. There is one further reason why the bullocks have particularly increased to a very large extent (34,638 or 45·8 per cent.) during 1921–30. The liberal grants made by the Darbar by way of *tagavi* have greatly helped the *khedut* to increase his stock of bullocks. The continuous decrease in the number of donkeys is due to their being displaced as draught animals. It seems that the transport facilities given by railways and motor buses at cheaper rates between distant and near places have considerably reduced their use as load-carriers and told upon their numbers. But the decrease in the number of carts and carriages during 1911–21 was due to the monetary stringency of the War period which far from increasing them, tended to lower them by 1,057.

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4. Distribution of Cattle per Occupied House.—The marginal statement supplies the numbers of different kinds of cattle per 100 inhabited houses for the Censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1930. All the ratios, except those of the cows, the young stock of cows, and donkeys, have risen since 1921. Every hundred houses that were occupied in 1930 possessed between them 43 cows, 101 bulls and bullocks, 64 buffaloes, 6 male buffaloes and 56 young stock of the bovine type. The corresponding figures for the Census of 1921 were 48, 76, 48, 4 and 69 respectively. But the more numerous of other animals that they had besides these were 142 sheep and 102 goats as against 129 and 75 in 1921 respectively. There was a general increase even at the latter Census in the distribution of agricultural cattle as returned in 1911.

Cattle	Number per 100 occupied houses		
	1931	1921	1911
Cows	43	48	35
Bulls and Bullocks ...	101	76	72
Calves	36	41	38
Buffaloes	64	48	43
Male-Buffaloes ...	6	4	6
Young Buffaloes ...	20	28	29
Sheep	142	129	121
Goats	102	75	104
Horses and Ponies ...	9	7	8
Asses	4	6	7
Camles	2	1	3
Ploughs	29	...	...
Carts, Carriages, etc. ...	19	15	16

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

VARIATION IN THE NUMBER OF CATTLE IN RELATION TO OCCUPIED HOUSES

MAHAL	Number of occupied houses Census 1931	Number of Houses possessing cattle			Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)			Proportion of cattle-owning Houses in 1930 to the total occupied in 1931
		1930	1921	1911	1911-21	1921-30	1911-30	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total ...	**1,09,261**	**57,623**	**51,520**	**54,375**	**— 5·0**	**+ 11·8**	**+ 5·9**	**53**
Daskroi ...	24,491	6,918	6,118	7,339	— 16·6	+ 13·0	— 5·7	28
Sihor ...	7,630	3,981	3,507	3,939	— 10·9	+ 13·5	+ 1·0	52
Umrala ...	7,957	5,014	4,279	4,749	— 9·8	+ 17·1	+ 5·5	63
Gadhada ...	5,047	3,165	3,062	3,230	— 5·2	+ 3·3	— 1·0	63
Botad ...	7,448	4,218	3,592	3,913	— 8·2	+ 17·4	+ 7·7	57
Lilia ...	5,692	3,780	3,474	3,590	— 3·2	+ 8·8	+ 5·2	66
Kundla ...	17,430	11,206	9,434	10,430	— 9·5	+ 18·7	+ 7·4	64
Victor ...	5,502	3,149	2,836	3,091	— 5·0	+ 11·0	+ 1·8	57
Mahuva ...	18,250	10,250	9,452	9,395	+ ·6	+ 8·4	+ 9·1	56
Talaja ...	9,814	5,942	5,766	4,699	+ 22·7	+ 3·0	+ 26·4	61

The Subsidiary Table printed above shows the number of cattle-owning houses since 1911 and the percentages of their variation for the State and its ten Mahals. While the variation by way of increase in the total number of such houses during the last nine years comes to nearly 12 per cent., that during the last nineteen years is half of it owing to the general fall of 5 per cent. in 1921, when all the Mahals except Mahuva and Talaja registered varying degrees of decreases. But the increase in the number of houses possessing cattle during 1921–30 is spread throughout all the Mahals and ranges from 18·7 per cent. for Kundla to 3 for Talaja. The figures of net variation since 1911, however, show a fall only in the two Mahals of Daskroi (5·7) and Gadhada (1). In the State more than half the number (53) of occupied houses own cattle. The proportion is the lowest (28) for Daskroi owing to the highly urbanised City population which does not encourage their possession. On the other extreme is the Mahal of Lilia whose predominantly agricultural character, and preponderant Kanbi population enable it to have the highest ratio (66) of houses possessing cattle. The latter seems to vary inversely as the proportion of the population that is urban.

5. Distribution of Agricultural Cattle.—The general distribution of agricultural cattle, *i.e.*, of cows, bullocks and their young, and buffaloes—males and females—and their young is shown by the following table.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE BY MAHAL

MAHAL	Cows	Cow-Calves	Bulls and Bullocks	He-Buffaloes	She-Buffaloes	She-Buffalo Calves	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total ...	47,478	39,217	1,10,231	7,105	70,278	21,619	2,95,928
Daskroi ...	6,169	4,688	10,024	814	8,038	2,598	32,331
Sihor ...	3,918	3,262	7,973	431	15,178	1,864	22,626
Umrala ...	3,945	3,422	10,101	631	3,785	1,406	23,290
Gadhada ...	2,856	2,522	6,301	295	2,073	757	14,804
Botad ...	3,718	2,692	8,066	406	3,462	1,371	19,715
Lilia ...	2,624	2,490	7,084	448	2,372	855	15,873
Kundla ...	10,188	8,665	22,540	1,414	12,065	3,320	58,192
Victor ...	2,513	2,178	5,788	459	3,568	1,065	15,571
Mahuva ...	7,852	6,275	19,859	1,306	16,744	4,631	56,667
Talaja ...	3,695	3,023	12,495	901	12,993	3,752	36,859

Subsidiary Table IV given below supplies the figures of net area sown during the year 1930 the total number of cattle and agricultural cattle with their numbers per cent. of the total population. The numbers of cattle maintained per 100 acres sown are also compared for the different Mahals.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS KINDS OF CATTLE IN RELATION TO POPULATION AND CULTIVATED LAND

Net area sown in acres	Total number of cattle	Number of Agricultural cattle	Percentage of cattle to the total population	Percentage of agricultural cattle to the total population	Mahal	PER 100 ACRES OF NET AREA SOWN						
						Ordinary cattle			Buffaloes			Total
						Bullocks	Cows	Others	Adult Males	Adult Females	Young Stock	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14,88,129	5,73,864	2,95,928	115	59	Bhavnagar State	6	3	5	1	3	3	21
2,12,803	54,595	32,333	51	30	Daskroi ...	3	3	3	...	3	2	14
1,09,154	43,102	22,626	125	66	Sihor ...	5	4	5	...	3	3	20
1,17,810	49,676	23,290	142	66	Umrala ...	6	3	5	1	2	2	19
94,094	31,649	14,804	136	64	Gadhada ...	5	3	4	...	1	1	15
1,14,227	40,423	19,715	112	55	Botad ...	6	3	4	...	2	2	17
82,023	33,554	15,873	133	63	Lilia ...	6	3	5	1	2	2	19
3,07,849	1,12,114	58,192	137	71	Kundla ...	5	3	5	1	2	3	19
69,668	29,546	15,571	121	64	Victor ...	6	4	5	1	3	3	22
2,31,946	1,09,643	56,667	132	68	Mahuva ...	6	3	5	1	3	3	21
1,18,555	69,564	36,859	142	75	Talaja ...	8	3	5	1	7	7	31

There are 115 animals of all sorts per hundred persons of the State population. But their distribution in the Mahals is very unequal and varies from 51 for Daskroi to 142 for Umrala and Talaja. The distribution of agricultural animals does not follow exactly the same order, though Talaja and Daskroi are first and last respectively in both the cases. While Talaja has had an abundant supply of cattle, Daskroi comes worse off in comparison with other Mahals which have twice as

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many. These inequalities more commonly depend upon the nature of the cultivated soil, facilities of well irrigation, supply of fodder, proportion of rural population and the size of holding which cannot but affect the incidence of cattle in each Mahal. It is, however, not possible to compare the livestock position of the State without reducing the figures to a common denominator. The basis of comparison here chosen and given in the second half of the statement is that adopted by the *Agricultural Statistics of India, viz.*, "per 100 acre of net sown area". The relation between the number of cattle and human population has already been noticed before. A consideraion of the number of ordinary cattle and buffaloes maintained for every one hundred acres of net area sown in the year 1930 shows an average of 21 cattle for the State as a whole. Of these, 6 are bullocks, 3 cows and 5 others among the ordinary cattle, and 1 adult male, 3 females and 3 young ones among the buffaloes. The Mahal of Talaja maintained the largest number (31) of these cattle, especially bullocks (8), she-buffaloes (7) and their young (7). Of the remaining Mahals, while Sihor with 20, Mahuva with 21 and Victor with 22 were a little better off than Umrala, Lilia, and Kundla with 19 each and Botad with 17, the position of Daskroi (14) and Gadhada (15) was far from satisfactory. Compared to the State which maintained 21 in 1930, Bombay Presidency excluding Sind maintained 32 such cattle in 1924-25. Every hundred acres sown at the latter place maintained 4 more bullocks, 3 more cows, 3 more others, and 1 more buffalo. The differences noted result from the inequalities referred to above regarding the nature of soil, fodder facilities, rural population, etc.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

BULLOCKS AND PLOUGHS CORRELATED WITH AREA SOWN

Bullocks	Number of Ploughs	Average number of bullocks per plough	MAHAL	PER 100 ACRES OF NET AREA SOWN		Area cultivated per yoke
				Bullocks	Khatedars	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54,812	**24,228**	**2·2**	**Bhavnagar State ...**	**5**	**2**	**41·1**
4,571	1,824	2·5	Daskroi ...	3	1	74·7
5,652	1,489	2·4	Sihor	5	2	42·9
3,563	2,299	2·4	Umrala	5	2	36·7
2,406	993	2·4	Gadhada	5	2	44·2
5,005	2,115	2·3	Botad	5	2	37·9
4,562	2,030	2·2	Lilia	6	3	32·1
10,162	4,747	2·1	Kundla	5	2	41·9
3,131	1,456	2·1	Victor	5	2	41·5
9,721	4,474	2·1	Mahuva	6	2	36·2
6,046	2,801	2·1	Talaja	6	2	33·7

NOTE—The statistics given in the table refer only to the Darbari *kheduts*.

6. Bullocks and Ploughs Correlated with Area Sown.—The statement given above shows (*i*) the number of bullocks and *khatedar* per 100 acres of net sown area, (*ii*) area cultivated per pair of bullocks, (*iii*) the total number of bullocks and ploughs in the State and (*iv*) average number of bullocks per plough. In the State as a whole, 5 bullocks are employed to cultivate 100 acres of land by 2 *khatedars*, the average area cultivated per yoke coming up to 41·1 acres But it must be remembered that the number of bullocks actually used for tilling purposes is less than the total number of bullocks, as necessary allowance must be made for those used in urban areas and for carting purposes. The bullock in this country is a draught animal, either yoked to the plough for cultivation or to the cart for transportation. But as the number utilized for the latter purpose forms a comparatively very small percentage of the total, no appreciable difference is likely to accrue from their inclusion among those used for agricultural purposes. It will be seen from the Table above that the distribution of cattle is very uneven, and the area cultivated per yoke is far greater in the Mahals of Daskroi, Sihor, Gadhada, Kundla and Victor than in any of the remaining Mahals. While in the four Mahals last mentioned nearly 2.9 acres of land are tilled by a pair of bullocks, the corresponding acreage for the Mahal of Daskroi is found to be 74.7 But the area that a pair is called upon to till is the least (32·1 and 33·7 acres) in the Mahals of Lilia and Talaja. It will be observed that the number of oxen bears a close relationship to the number of registered *khatedars*, and the average area cultivated per yoke. Their number varies with the number of *khatedars* In the State as a whole as also in all its Mahals except Daskroi, Lilia, Mahuva and Talaja there are two *khatedars* employing five bullocks to till 100 acres of land. But of the latter Mahals, while Daskroi, Mahuva and Talaja have three bullocks per *khata* Lilia has only two. The other half of the statement given on the left hand side shows that no Mahal in the State has less than two bullocks per plough whose number could be increased consistently with the number of surplus bullocks available, either for relieving the pressure on the latter or for intensive cultivation.

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7. Milch Cattle.—The margin supplies the total number of milk-giving cattle-cows and buffaloes–as also the proportions of persons per each head of such cattle for the State and ten Mahals. The general average is found to be 5·3 per unit of cattle. The proportions are not the same for all the Mahals. For, while Talaja has only 3·9, Daskroi owing to the inclusion of non-cattle-possessing City population has as many as 8·8 persons per milch cattle. Roughly speaking the Mahals of the Southern Division have a greater abundance of milk-supplying cattle than those of the Northern, whose population appears to have a proportionately smaller supply of milk than that of the former.

Mahal	Cows and Buffaloes	Population	Proportion of persons per each head of milch cattle
Total ...	**93,820**	**5,00,274**	**5·3**
Daskroi ...	12,089	1,07,569	8·8
Sihor ...	7,362	34,471	4·6
Umrala ...	6,443	35,077	5·4
Gadhada ...	4,123	23,231	5·6
Botad ...	6,054	36,150	5·9
Lilia ...	4,193	25,271	6·0
Kundla ...	17,569	81,809	4·6
Victor ...	4,819	24,429	5·0
Mahuva ...	18,867	83,293	4·4
Talaja ...	12,301	48,974	3·9

8. Sheep and Goats.—The milk supply of the State is also reinforced by sheep and goats who jointly number 2,63,518 of which 1,11,779 are goats and 1,51,739 sheep. This is comparatively a minor class of livestock which will be seen from the fact that while in western countries six to seven sheep are usually allowed as the equivalent of one cattle unit, the similar proportion for this country has been estimated at seventeen by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Besides, "they are not so much the characteristic stock of the ordinary cultivator as of nomadic flock-owners or of the landless villager in districts where scrub jungle abounds."[1] This remark is amply demonstrated by the fact that in the State while the sheep and goats owned by the ordinary cultivators number only 14,862 or 5·6 per cent., those done by shepherds, herdsmen and others amount to 2,52,255 or 94·4 per cent.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 169

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CHAPTER IX

LITERACY

SECTION I—GENERAL LITERACY BY MAHAL, AGE, SEX, RELIGION AND CASTE

232. Reference to Statistics.—The Statistics regarding Literacy are contained in Imperial Table XIII and XIV and State Table II. Table XIII supplies the figures of Education by religion for the age groups 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20 and 20 and over. Upto 1921, the first two groups were combined under the group 0-10, and not shown separately as at the present Census. It is divided into three parts. Part A forms the General Table giving the figures for the State as a whole; Part B gives them for each of its Mahals separately; and Part C shows the details for the City of Bhavnagar. Table XIV has been compiled for the first time, and shows the total literates and illiterates in certain selected castes for such of their numbers as are aged 7 years and over. The castes are the same as those selected for Imperial Table VIII relating to Civil Condition. State Table II combines the literacy statistics with those of main religions returned in the State by Mahal, absolute number of literates being shown by the age periods, 0-15, 15-20, and 20 and over. Literacy in English is shown separately in all the three Tables. The ages given in Table XIII are smoothed according to the formula explained in Chapter IV—Age, and not taken direct from the enumeration books. Special information as to those of the literates who have completed their primary education, that is to say of those who have passed vernacular Standard V and over has been compiled for the first time on this occasion, and given in the last columns of Imperial Table XIII. Eight Subsidiary and a number of marginal tables have also been compiled from these tables, and inserted in the Chapter.

233. The Basis of the Returns.—It is but necessary that a discussion of the figures tabulated in the Tables aforesaid should be preceded by an explanation of the term 'Literacy' as used in the Report. The Census literates are those who can write a letter to a friend and read a reply thereto. This definition was for the first time adopted in 1911, and has been retained since then. As the figures prior to 1911 are not available, it is needless to enter into the futile discussion of the categories, then adopted. Despite the simplicity and clarity of instructions, it was not easy to avoid varied construction being put upon it according to the varying intelligence of the enumerators. While a more liberal interpretation would add some to the fold of the literates, a stricter application would exclude others and add to the numbers returned as illiterate; because in the matter of record, it was the enumerator who was to decide as to the literacy or otherwise of the individual enumerated. And an unwary enumerator would easily beguile himself into believing that a person who could only write or only read a little was literate. Again, the desire of the people to pass off as literate, though not really so, is a potent factor that cannot but influence the returns of literacy. A man who has once been able to read and write, does not readily acknowledge that he has subsequently forgotten to do so. This generally happens in rural tracts, more particularly amongst the cultivating classes. Literacy returned at the Census is irrespective of the language in which the enumerated is literate, and no question was put to ascertain the degree of literacy acquired by him. There is every reason to believe that the instructions were on the whole properly understood, and correctly applied by the enumerators. As for the entry of those who had completed their primary education, it was provided that 'Standard V' should be written below the word, 'literate', in the case of all those persons who had passed the fifth standard examination in their respective vernaculars. These returns are, however, not complete, as the circular directing

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the record of this additional information was not received from the Provincial Superintendent until the preliminary enumeration had commenced. This necessitated the issue of instructions to the Census workers at the eleventh hour, and resulted, as will be seen from the total absence of any return under this head for the Christians, in some misunderstanding as regards the nature of entry that was to be made in this behalf. The impression that was made while inspecting the schedules was confirmed when the schedules were abstracted that instead of recording all those who had passed the vernacular Standard V and over, the entry in some cases was made for those of them who had studied only upto the fifth standard in their respective vernaculars. Such of the mistakes, as could be corrected from the information cotained in the column for English literacy were rectified. There will still have remained others which must have passed undetected. The figures, however, supply some clue to the number of those who have effectively undergone the course of primary education at school and are, therefore, of some value.

234. Extent of Literacy.—The following statement gives the main figures of literacy in the State as a whole.

STATE	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE									
	HINDU		MUSLIM		JAIN		ZOROASTRIAN		CHRISTIAN	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
BHAVNAGAR ...	210	50	388	49	804	317	916	876	801	709

The total number of literates returned at the present Census amounts to 68,409 persons of which 55,435 are males and 12,974 females. In the general population at the age of 5 and over, 162 in every thousand are literate, the corresponding male and female proportions being 254 and 64 respectively. Examining the male literacy by age periods, it is found that 115 per mille are literate between the ages of 5 and 10, but the ratio rises to 201 and 314 in the age groups 10-15 and 15-20 respectively, and drops down to 298 at the age periods 20 and over. The highest proportion of literate males is returned between the ages of 15. and 20 which are the most representative years so far as the extent of general literacy in the State is concerned. It is the time when primary education is generally completed and represents the fruits of education imparted during the preceding quinquennium. More than 31 per cent. of the males at these ages are returned as literate. In the case of females, 64 in every thousand aged five and over can read and write a letter. The highest proportion of the literates of their sex is also to be found, as in the case of males, in the age group 15-20. The ratio which is 104 per mille aged 5 and over, drops down to 44, 76 and 58 respectively in the age groups 5-10, 10-15 and 20 and over.

235. Literacy by Mahals.—The marginal table and the map below illustrate the distribution of literacy by Mahals. The causes that determine the territorial distribution of literacy are many and varied. They are, as Mr. Marten pointed out "economic, political, social, religious and even racial. Literacy will always be high in commercial and industrial tracts and in the large cities round which they lie."[1]

MAHAL	Number per 1,000 who are literate at 5 and over		
	Persons	Males	Females
Bhavnagar State ...	**162**	**254**	**64**
Bhavnagar City ...	359	51	180
Daskroi (In. of City) ...	286	419	138
,, (Ex. ,, ,,) ...	108	174	39
Sihor ...	173	274	69
Umrala ...	143	235	42
Gadhada ...	131	208	47
Botad ...	154	246	54
Lilia ...	127	217	30
Kundla ...	114	191	32
Victor ...	143	230	54
Mahuva ...	114	180	45
Talaja ...	105	170	37

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 177.

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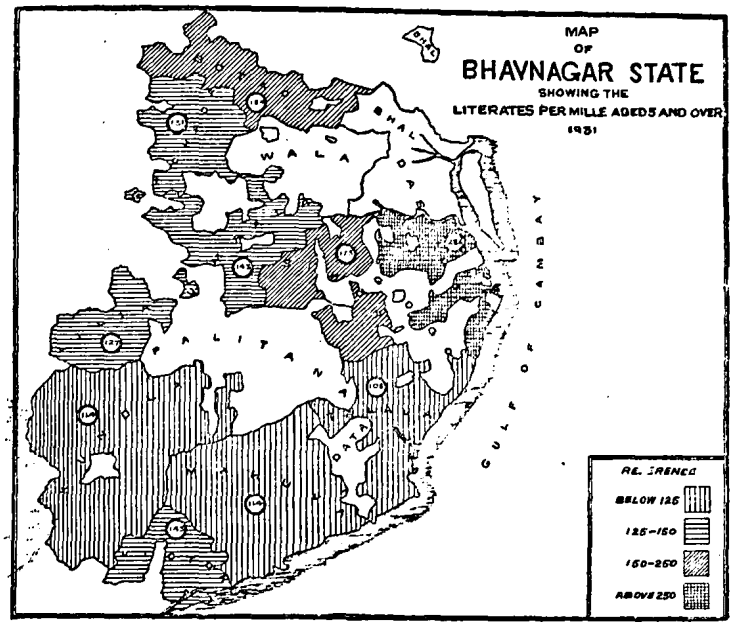
While the proportion of the literates is the highest (286) in the Mahal of Daskroi owing to the inclusion in it of the rising industrial and commercial City of Bhavnagar, and higher (173) in the Mahal of Sihor than in any of the remaining Mahals of the State owing to its being



in the vicinity of the former, the low ratios (114, 114, 105) for the Mahals of Kundla, Mahuva and Talaja result from the preponderance of the rural population which is engrossed in illiteracy. The growing urban and industrial character of the Mahal of Botad has enabled it to stand an easy third with 154 literates aged 5 and over per mille, the intermediate places being taken up by the remaining Mahals according as one factor or another is predominant in determining the literacy or illiteracy of their populations. Referring to the statistics by sex, it is noticeable that while the Mahals preserve very nearly the same order in the case of the male population as in that of the total population, the female ratios follow a somewhat different order.

236. Urban and Rural Literacy Compared.—As would be expected, the standards of literacy prevailing in urban and rural areas are widely divergent. The causes for this variation are to be mainly sought in the existence in the one, and the absence in the other of the facilities of schools which influence the proportions of the literates among these two classes of the population. The difference in their respective ratios, *i.e.*, the high proportion of literacy in towns and the City and widespread illiteracy in the rural areas is also explained by the nature of occupations and the mode of living of the persons inhabiting these tracts. The rural areas which mainly stand for agricultural occupations cannot easily dispense with the services of the younger folk and children whose assistance by way of herding cattle and watching the crops growing in the fields is of immense help to the family. The value of education is generally believed to be primarily utilitarian. It is a means to an end, and not an end in itself. It is necessary to have the knowledge of the three R's inasmuch as it enables one to earn one's livelihood,

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and make both ends meet. The cultivator who is prone to measure the value of education in terms of its productive capacity, sees no good in allowing his children to waste their time at school when he can profitably employ them in agriculture. Especially at the harvest time when field labour is in great demand, a boy or girl aged 10 and over brings some return for his labour in cash or kind, and thereby supplements the family income. But the same boy at school would be the object of losing what little he would otherwise add to the family purse. The incapacity of the education imparted in schools to be useful to the agriculturist in any way coupled with the lack of necessary facilities for educating the village children lowers the standard of literacy in areas other than urban. But the whole of the urban atmosphere with schools, facilities for higher eduction, *kacheris* and law courts contributes to the progress of literacy.

The following Subsidiary Table supplies the statistics which bear out in no uncertain terms the remarks made in the preceding para.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Comparison Between Literacy in Towns and Adjacent Rural Areas

LOCALITY	Number per mille (all ages 5 and over) who are literate		
	Persons	Males	Females
Bhavnagar City	*374*	*545*	*180*
Rest of the Daskroi Mahal ...	108	174	39
Sihor Town...	*327*	*508*	*151*
Rest of the Sihor Mahal	106	183	25
Umrala Town	*241*	*402*	*88*
Rest of the Umrala Mahal... ...	133	220	37
Gadhada Town	*288*	*448*	*120*
Rest of the Gadhada Mahal ...	82	135	23
Botad Town	*266*	*413*	*113*
Rest of the Botad Mahal	95	162	21
Lilia Town...	*196*	*309*	*78*
Rest of the Lilia Mahal	119	207	25
Kundla Town	*298*	*454*	*147*
Rest of the Kundla Mahal... ...	96	167	21
Rajula Town	*359*	*610*	*166*
Rest of the Victor Mahal	81	140	15
Mahuva Town	*317*	*464*	*168*
Rest of the Mahuva Mahal ...	54	98	8
Talaja Town	*371*	*544*	*203*
Rest of the Talaja Mahal	81	138	21

There is a great disparity in the ratios of literacy in the towns and country. While the urban ratios vary from 374 literates per mille aged 5 and over for the City of Bhavnagar to 196 for the town of Lilia, the rural ratios range between 54 and 133 for the rural areas contained in the Mahals of Mahuva and Umrala respectively. It will, however, be observed that the rural proportions do not follow exactly the same order as the urban owing to the difference in the racial composition of the population inhabiting the various Mahals. Excluding the City, Talaja

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enjoys the first place from the point of urban literacy with 371 per mille of all ages 5 and over and is followed by Rajula with 359 and by Sihor with 327. Another town which has more than 300 literates per mille is Mahuva (317). Of the remaining towns, all but Lilia have more than 230 literates per mille, the agricultural nature of the latter giving it only 196 literates. Among the rural tracts the highest literacy for the rural area contained in the Mahal of Umrala is significant and results from its containing the two junction stations of Dhasa and Dhola where are located the quarters of the staff serving on the B. S. Railway.

237. Literacy in the City.—Of the total literates (68,409) of all ages, 23,293 or 31 per cent. are claimed by the City of Bhavnagar alone. Of these, 17,818 are males and 5,475 females and account for 45 and 15 per cent. respectively of the total male and female literate population of the State. Owing to its favourable position as a capital, it enjoys the first place both from the point of general and English literacy. As will be seen from the statement below more than half of its male population aged 5 years and over, and 18 per cent. of its female population

CITY	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE										
	All ages 5 and over			5-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bhavnagar	359	516	180	246	132	427	224	626	267	578	164

of that age are literate. 36 per cent. or 359 per mille of its total population of all ages 5 and over are able to write a letter to a friend and read a reply to it. Examining the proportions by age periods it is seen that the most literate age period in the case of both the sexes is 15–20, which respectively appropriates 626 and 267 per mille of the males and females in that group. So far as literacy is concerned, it is the most representative age period and contains the highest proportion of the literates as has been also seen to be the case with the State as a whole. In the age periods 5-10, 10-15 and 20 and over, the male proportions are 246, 427 and 578 literates per mille, the corresponding female proportions being 132, 224 and 164 respectively. The causes that operate to raise the incidence of literacy in the town as compared to the rest of the Mahal, tend to a still greater extent to bring about the highest ratio of literacy for the City which is far more urbanised than the towns. Apart from the general factor regarding the educational facilities that are instrumental in giving a relatively greater proportion of literates to towns, there are other additional causes also which place the City over the ordinary agricultural or market towns. Its peculiar surroundings with the added facilities for prosecuting higher studies, existence of a college, the location of all the important State Offices and Courts, and its thriving trade and prospering commerce which have greater attractions for the literate than the illiterate are conducive to the growth of its literacy. While in the State in the male population aged 5 years and over, one in every four is literate, in the City one in every two is so. In the case of females one in sixteen in the State and six in the City are returned as being able to read and write. The rather enviable position of the City is thus clearly brought out by these comparisons.

238. Literacy by Religion and Age.—The statistics regarding literacy by age and sex are given in the following Subsidiary Table for the main religions.

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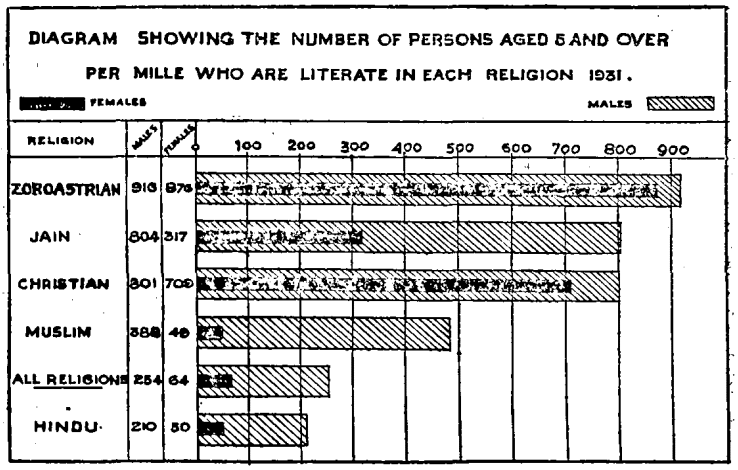
SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

LITERACY BY AGE, SEX AND RELIGION

RELIGION	ALL AGES 5 and over			NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE								NUMBER PER MILLE OF PERSONS WHO ARE LITERATE IN ENGLISH AGED 5 AND OVER		
				5-10		10-15		15-20		20 and over				
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
All Religions	162	254	64	115	44	201	76	314	104	298	58	17	31·6	1·4
Hindu ...	133	210	50	95	32	167	57	264	81	245	47	14·6	21	0·9
Muslim ...	224	338	49	165	44	293	73	457	86	464	37	11·5	21·8	0·4
Jain ...	565	804	317	405	258	671	414	908	523	922	269	57	109·8	2·0
Zoroastrian ...	898	916	876	438	538	933	917	875	933	991	910	586·5	668·9	457·4
Christian ...	762	801	709	583	467	727	857	688	214	853	850	434·4	496·5	349·5



The foregoing diagram illustrates the extent of literacy by sex and main religions for their population aged 5 and over. In order to facilitate comparison between the proportions of male and female literates, the black female bars are shown inside the male bars which are also hatched. Zoroastrians representing the Parsi community are on the top of the literacy ladder with 90 per cent. of their population literate. The Christians including both the Indian Christians and Europeans have 762 literates in a thousand. But while the Jain ratio drops down to 565, the Muslim and Hindu ratios are as low as 224 and 133 per mille respectively. It is the proportion of the Hindu literates alone that falls below the State figure. Of the three main religions of the State, *viz.*, Hinduism, Islam and Jainism, the proportion of literates per mille is the highest in the last named religion whose adherents are mostly traders and business men to whom the knowledge of reading and writing is indispensable for correspondence and keeping of accounts. The same cause operates, though to a less extent, to return a higher literacy ratio for

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the Muslims as compared to that for the Hindus. Moreover, the followers of these two religions being in a minority are mostly residing in urban areas which are more literate than the rural. The Hindus on the other hand who stand the lowest in the literacy scale owe the smallest percentage of their census literates to the inclusion in the Hinduistic fold of a large number of the lower castes who are mainly agricultural and rural. But if the ratios of some of the higher castes are considered, it is revealed that the proportions of their literates far outnumber those of the Jain castes.

Referring to the literacy statistics by sex, it is observed that amongst the Parsis, the proportions of the literates per mille of both the sexes are very nearly the same. Among their males 916 in a thousand and 876 among their females are literate at all ages 5 and over. Among the Christians, 801 males and 709 females per mille of these ages are literate. But among the Jains 804 males and 317 females per thousand can read and write. The greater percentage of male literacy amongst the followers of Jainism is, however, accounted for by their being a trading community whose males must be able to read letters and write accounts. But the female ratio is comparatively at a discount as the sphere of activity of their womenfolk is the household. But when the female ratios of the Jains are compared to those of the Hindus and Muslims, it is found that while 1 in 20 of the Hindu as well as Muslim females is literate, 1 in 3 of the Jain females of all ages 5 and over is so. The relatively higher proportion of literate females among the Jains is due to the more favoured treatment given by Jainism to the members of the weaker sex who enjoy equal opportunities as males in the matter of religious education. Both the sexes can take to holy orders and practise the teachings of Mahavir with the same ease and facility. But this is not the case either with Hinduism or Islam. Hence the greater female literacy amongst the Jains than either amongst the Hindus or Muslims.

Analysing the ratios of literacy by age, it is noticeable that while in the general population, the most literate age period is 15-20, in the case of all the main religions except Hinduism whose followers comprising as they do 87 per cent. of the total population give their stamp to the State ratio, the ages at 20 and over are found to be the most literate. The comparatively high percentage of literacy among the Zoroastrians and Christians is reflected in the different age categories to a varied extent. It will be significant to observe that among the former 91 and 93 per cent. of the females in the age groups 10-15 and 15-20 respectively are literate, the similar proportions for the Christians being 86 and 21. The very low standard of literacy among the Christian females between the ages of 15 and 20 results from the inclusion in the Christian fold of those Indian Christians who are recruited from the lower strata of Hindu society. At the ages 20 and over 910 Parsi females and 850 Christian females in the thousand are literate. But some of the Jain ratios are particularly interesting, and deserve to be closely studied. In the age period 5-10, 405 males per mille are literate, as against 165 Muslim males and only 95 Hindu males. But the proportion of the literate Jain males rises up to 671 in the age group 10-15 and to 908 per thousand between the ages of 15 and 20. Thus in the school-going age periods three-fourths of the Jain males are returned as literate as against only 293 Muslim males and 167 Hindu males in the age group 10-15 and 457 and 264 respectively in the age group 15-20. The ratio of female literacy among the Jains is equally instructive. As against 44 and 32 literates in 1,000 females in the age group 5-10 for the Muslims and Hindus respectively, there are as many as 258 for the Jains. The corresponding Hindu, Muslim and Jain proportions respectively rise to 73, 57 and 414 in the age group 10-15 and to 86, 81 and 523 in the age group 15-20. Thus so far as literacy is concerned, the Jain women are better off than their Hindu and Muslim sisters. As will be evidenced by the proportions of female literates in the age groups 10-15 and 15-20 the percentage of Jain girls that go to school is far greater than those of the Hindu and Muslim among whom education of girls has touched only the fringe of the female population. As in the case of abandoning early marriages and postponing the marriageable age, so in the case of the education of their women, Jains are far ahead of the Hindus and Muslims. But when the figures of

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DIAGRAM SHOWING LITERACY BY CASTE, 1931

AT AGES SEVEN AND OVER

MALES FEMALES

NR	CASTE	MALES	FEMALES
1	PARSI	818	810
2	VANIA KAPOL	756	553
3	BRAHMAN NAGAR	732	533
4	VISHA SHRIMALI	701	205
5	BRAHMAN AUDICHYA	694	242
6	VANIA MODH	687	366
7	BRAHMAN SHRIMALI	666	388
8	VOHORA	651	147
9	VANIA DASHA SHRIMALI	642	378
10	BRAHMAN MODH	603	218
11	KANSARA	585	160
12	MEMON	548	36
13	KHOJA	543	148
14	LUHANA	510	122
15	KACHHIYA	446	41
16	MALI	443	87
17	SONI	412	202
18	SUTAR	411	48
19	DARJEE	387	87
20	KANBI KADVA	379	100
21	LUHAR	368	40
22	KHAVAS	304	52
23	SIPAI	263	7
24	MOCHI	254	19
25	RAJPUT	248	46
26	PINJARA	230	9
27	HAJAM	185	18
28	GHANCHI	182	9
29	KATHI	174	22
30	DHOBI	153	16
31	BAVA	152	29
32	CHARAN	140	11
33	KANDI LEVA	122	11
34	KUMBHAR	114	6
35	VAGHRI	39	1
36	KOLI	37	1
37	DHED	36	4
38	RABARI	25	2
39	AHIR	26	2
40	CHAMAR	13	0
41	BHANGI	16	0
42	BHARWAD	7	3

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literacy of the higher caste Hindus are compared with those of the Jain castes, the latter are found to give place to the former.

239. Literacy among Castes.—Subsidiary Table VIII inserted at the end of the Chapter and the diagram opposite show the male and female literacy obtaining among the various Hindu, Jain and Muslim Castes as also among the Parsis. The proportions of the literates among the castes refer to those of their members as are aged seven years and over. To facilitate comparison, male and female ratios are given in the diagram itself, the black female bars as in the case of literacy by religion being placed within the hatched bars for the males. The bars are arranged in the order of merit of their literacy.

For the purpose of comparing male literacy, the castes may be roughly grouped into three classes. At the top will be (*i*) the Twice-born and the trading castes like Brahmans and Vanias among the Hindus, and Vohoras and Memons among the Mahomedans, (*ii*) the artisan and other castes like the Kachhias Malis, Sonis, Sutars and Darjis in the middle and (*iii*) the lower castes like the Hajams, Mochis, Dhobis among the Hindus and the Sipais, Pinjaras and Ghanchis among the Muslims as also the more backward castes and the depressed untouchables at the bottom. The ratios of literate males vary from 758 in the thousand at the ages 7 and over for the Kapol Vanias to 7 for the Bharwads. The higher castes fare decidedly better than the artisan and the lower castes. Among the Brahmans, Nagar Brahmans have 732, Audichya Brahmans 694, Shrimali Brahmans 666 and Modh Brahmans 603 literates per mille of their males aged 7 and over. Among the Vanias, while the Kapol Vanias lead with 758, Visha Shrimalis, Modhs and Dasha Shrimalis follow respectively with 701, 687 and 642 male literates per mille of these ages. Among the artisan castes male literacy ranges from 368 for the Luhars to 585 for the Kansaras. While the Kadva Kanbis have 379 male literates per mille, the Lewas who represent the cultivating class and inhabit rural areas have only 122. Among the backward and depressed classes, literacy is rare and ranges from 39 and 37 for the Vaghris and Kolis to 16 for the Bhangis and 7 for the Bharwads. The variations in the ratios of male literacy among the various Hindu castes noted above result from the peculiar structure of Hindu society whose different strata stand for different grades of social and economic status. While the opportunities for receiving education are greater in the case of the higher sections of society, those for the lower are correspondingly less. The higher social status very often goes hand in hand with better economic condition and the consequent facilities for acquiring literacy. Lower social status and the resulting poverty, on the other hand, make it difficult to dispense with the assistance of the younger folk in the family occupation, and thus hinders the progress of literacy among the more backward strata of society. Castes in India being also occupational, the necessity for education varies with the needs of each particular profession. Literacy is proportionately higher among such castes as the Brahmans and Vanias as also among some of the artisan castes not merely because they prize it more than others, but also because the ability to read and write is with them a professional necessity. On the other hand, the occupations in which the lower castes are employed are mainly agricultural and do not lay any claim to literacy. They live in villages and have never felt the necessity of sending their children to school. Education as at present imparted is regarded as productive of no material benefit to them. On the contrary, they drive them from their traditional occupation in search of some clerical job elsewhere. These factors combine to increase the proportions of literates among the higher and reduce those among the lower of the Hindu castes. The same phenomenon is found at work among the Musalmans also and gives to the trading Muslim community of the Vohoras, Memons and Khojas 651, 548 and 543 male literates respectively per thousand aged 7 and over as against 230 to the Pinjaras and 192 to the Ghanchis.

But the Vaghris and Kolis, on the one hand, and the Dheds, Chamars and Bhangis on the other stand on quite a different footing. The social status, especially of the latter, is the lowest. These people did not originally

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belong to the Hinduistic fold and though absorbed into it, have failed to gain that recognition at the hands of the higher castes which other alien races that poured from the North have been accorded. The factors of social inheritance and environments in which they live are a great impediment to their acquiring any substantial degree of literacy. But these obstacles work with particular vengeance in the case of the *antyajas* or the untouchables. For, the prejudice against allowing them to sit in the same school with the children of the touchables, and the general dearth of special schools for the former dispel all hope of removing that enormous mass of illiteracy prevailing among them in the near future. But mention must be made at this place of some of the feeble attempts that are nowadays made to ameliorate the general, economic, and backward condition of this unfortunate section of Hiudu society which is slowly shaking off its slough of apathy and awakening to the sense of injustice done by it for ages to this less vocal and most serviceable class of humanity. There is growing sympathy in all quarters which is taking the form in some places of starting *antyaj shalas* or special schools for the untouchables where they are taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Five such special schools are located in the State, two at Bhavnagar, and one each at Kundla, Botad and Vartej. The first four are aided schools which receive full grants from the State which has always sympathised with and encouraged every effort for the uplift of the socially backward and depressed classes of society. But the work done by the *antyaj ashramas* or homes for the untouchables where the school-going children of the depressed classes are given free lodging and boarding has some educative value. The very different atmosphere from the one in which they lived under the parental roof has a salutory effect upon their manners and mode of living, as they exercise a considerable reforming influence upon their caste-brethren on their return home. It is indeed a pity that no attempts are being made either by the *ashramas* or the schools to flavour the training with technical education in the form of hand spinning and hand weaving which cannot but be of immense help to them in their after life, by making them economically independent.

240. Figures of Completed Primary Education.—The statistics relating to the numbers of those who have effectively completed their primary education have, as has been already noticed, been compiled for the first time at the present Census. As seen before, they err on the side of under-enumeration rather than that of over-enumeration. It should be pointed out that though the Provincial Superintendent instructed the making of an entry for all those who had studied up to Standard V and over in their respective vernaculars, so far as the Gujarati vernacular is concerned, the primary education terminates with the passing of Standard IV. So in order that a proper estimate of those who have completed their primary education may be obtained, the figures of those who have passed Standard IV and over and not only of those who have passed Standard V and over, should be collected for the State in the future. The figures of (*i*) the total males and female literates aged 10 and over, (*ii*) of those who have passed Standard V and over, and (*iii*) the proportion of the latter per mille of the former are shown in the sub-joined statement by the main religions.

Religion	Total literate aged 10 and over			Literate in Vernacular: Standard V and over			Proportion per mille of literates aged 10 and over who have passed Standard V		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Religions ...	**62,694**	**51,209**	**11,485**	**23,493**	**20,553**	**2,940**	**375**	**401**	**256**
Hindu	44,467	36,615	7,852	15,328	13,306	2,022	345	363	258
Muslim	7,471	6,736	735	2,444	2,355	89	327	350	121
Jain	10,339	7,613	2,726	5,507	4,753	754	533	624	279
Zoroastrian	240	134	106	209	134	75	871	1,000	708

The ages between the years of 6 and 11 are deemed to constitute the period during which primary education is received. The completed primary education can, therefore, in no case be acquired before the age of 10. The foregoing state-

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ment, therefore, compares only the numbers of those who have undergone a course of completed primary education per thousand literates aged 10 and over. Of the total number of 62,694 literates of those ages, 23,493 or 38 per cent. have studied up to Standard V and over in their respective vernaculars. The remaining 62 per cent. have given up their education before receiving their full training in the primary schools. The proportion of such persons varies with each main religion and is not the same for both the sexes. While among the males 40 per cent. of the literates of all ages 10 and over have received full primary education, the female percentage reduces itself to 26. Examining the ratios by religion, the Parsis are found to top the list with 871 per mille. While all of their literate males above 10 years have passed the vernacular Standard V, only 70 per cent. of their literate females of that age have done so. The corresponding male and female proportions for the Jain literates are 624 and 279 per mille respectively. Though general literacy is proportionately greater among the Muslims than among the Hindus, from the standpoint of the completion of primary education, the Hindu literates fare a little better than the Muslim. The Hindus have 13 more males and 137 more females who have passed their fifth standard examination per 1,000 literates aged 10 and over. The smaller Muslim proportions (350 males, 121 females) are, however, significant. The Muslims being mainly a trading community do not prosecute their studies beyond gaining the knowledge of the three R's. So while the number (388) of their male literates per mille at ages 5 and over is greater than that (210) of the Hindus by 178, the number of those among the literates who have completed their primary education is proportionately greater among the Hindu males than among the Muslim. Again, while the Hindus and Muslims have got very nearly the same number of female literates (50, 49) aged 5 and over to the thousand, the number of those who have passed the vernacular fifth standard per mille of the literates aged 10 and over is only 121 for the Muslims as against 258 for the Hindus. The disparity results from the *purdah* system which prevents the appearance of the Muslim females in the public after a certain age, more particularly after marriage. It has been seen that early marriages are prevalent also among the Muslims; and so the early age at which the girls are married cuts off the progress of their education by sending them behind the *purdah* before the primary course is effectively gone through.

SECTION II—PROGRESS OF LITERACY

241. Progress of Literacy.—Having considered the statistics of general literacy by sex, age, locality, religion and caste, it now remains to be seen as to how literacy has progressed during the last twenty years. During the past decennium, the total number of literates in the general population has increased from 56,152 in 1921 to 68,409 in 1931, a rise of 12,257 or 22 per cent. as against that of 9,735 or 21 per cent. during 1911-21. Analysing the figures by sex, it is noticed that while the male literates have increased by 20 per cent. the female by 26 per cent. The statement given below shows the progress of literacy in the State since 1911 by age and sex.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION SINCE 1911

STATE	NUMBER OF LITERATE PER MILLE																	
	ALL AGES 10 AND OVER						15-20						20 AND OVER					
	Males			Females			Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Bhavnagar	282	277	226	67	63	34	314	308	221	104	117	58	298	270	225	58	42	25

NOTE.—Figures for the years 1891 and 1901 are not available.

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The general impression the mind receives from the figures contained in the foregoing Table is that there has been a steady and continuous progress both in male and female literacy during the last twenty years. The solitary exception to this tendency is, however, supplied by females in the age period 15-20 the proportion of whose literates per mille has fallen off at the present Census to 104 from 117 in 1921 to which it had risen from 58 in 1911. So if the figures of the last two decades alone are compared a backward movement is noticed in this particular age-group. But in instituting comparisons of this nature to find out how far literacy has progressed from decade to decade, the proportionate figures of an abnormal Census like that of 1921 should be accepted with great reserve. For the ratios of 1921 are unduly inflated owing to the heavy selective mortality from influenza which mainly concentrated its attack upon the persons of reproductive ages, and especially upon the females. Commenting upon the ratios of 1921, Mr. Marten, the Census Commissioner for India, remarked:—

"It is difficult to gauge the effect of the influenza mortality on the comparative statistics of literacy, but the incidence of death-rate must undobtedly have been heavier in the illiterate rural population than among literates, and the high percentages of increase in literacy in the Central Provinces must owe something to this selective factor." [1]

What thus happened in the Central Provinces in 1921, happened in the State of Bhavnagar also. The high percentage increase in 1921 is, therefore, more artificial than real. This will be apparent from the fact that even in the age group 15-20 the ratio of literacy amongst whose females has gone down from 117 to 104 during the past decennium, shows 302 more female literates than those returned in 1921. The 1921 proportions are thus sent high by the relatively greater depletion in the ranks of the illiterate in the effective age categories, as also by the changing age constitution of the population of the State. There is also some reason to suspect too liberal interpretation of the definition of Census literacy in 1921. In estimating, therefore, the progress of literacy in the State from one Census to another, the unduly high ratios of literacy shown at the Census of 1921 should be properly discounted before comparing them either with those of 1911 or of 1931. What is gratifying to learn is that except in one single case referred to above, 1931 literacy ratios are higher than those of 1921 despite the factors noted above.

At the ages of ten and over the male population shows 226 literates per mille in 1911 who rose to 277 in 1921 and to 282 in 1931. The last twenty years that have passed have added 56 literates per mille of the males aged 10 and over. But among the females there are 33 more literates per mille of those ages than in 1911, the ratios per mille for the Censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931 being 34, 63 and 67 respectively. Owing to the abnormal nature of the 1921 ratios, it will be useful to compare the figures of two normal Censuses, 1911 and 1931, in order to gauge the progress of literacy during the last twenty years. In the adolescent male population between the ages of 15 and 20, there are in 1931, 93 more literates per mille than those in 1911, the corresponding rise in the female literates between those ages being 46. But the progress in the adult age periods 20 and over is not so great as that in the school-going age period (15-20). The male and female literates have respectively increased by 73 and 33 per mille of those aged 20 and over since 1911. The relatively higher increase of literates per mille of both the sexes of the school-going ages which contain those who have been under effective education during the decade immediately preceding the Census shows the increasingly greater numbers of both the sexes that receive primary education at schools. But still greater numbers should be made to go to school either by compulsion or by familiarising school education in some other way. Because the percentages of each sex between the ages of 15–20 that are literate are 31 for males and 10 for females. A vast mass of the adolescent population that should have been under effective training at schools thus remains wholly unaffected. If the widespread illiteracy in the rural population is to be removed, the present system of imparting education must be radically changed. It must be such as to satisfy the growing needs of the people who are unwilling to benefit by a merely literary type of

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 179.

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education. That is to say that literacy and technical or professional education should go hand in hand, if literacy is to be increased and education made popular with and beneficial to the masses.

242. Literacy among Females.—Before the discussion as to the progress of Literacy is concluded, especial reference to the extent and progress of literacy among the female sex which forms nearly half of the State population is necessary. It has been observed that the progress of literacy among both the sexes has been steady and continuous during the period 1911-31. So far as the female population is concerned, the statistics collected on the margin disclose that while the net variation by way of increase in the number of literates has been 75 per cent. in 1921, that in 1931 has been only 26. The net increase in the number of female literates during the last twenty years, however, amounts to 122 per cent. The rate of increase, of course, denotes the progress made during the period preceding the Census, but the extent of literacy as revealed by the proportion of the female literates per mille is not great. While 34 females per mille could read and write at the ages of 10 and over in 1911, the ratio rises to 67 in 1931. In other words, though the number of females per mille of literates has more than doubled during the last twenty years, they form only 7 per cent. of their present population aged ten and over. The corresponding percentage of the male literates is on the other hand four times as great as that of the females. This great disparity in the literacy ratio of males and females is due to the difference in the relative position of the two sexes in society, and the consequent inequality of facilities for receiving education. The females are regarded the weaker of the two sexes, and follow the lead of men in matters social, economic and educational. Education of females can, therefore, be familiarised, only if a substantial degree of literacy prevails among the males. It is the males who have to rise to the sense of widespread illiteracy among the females and take necessary steps for removing it. Whatever be the conditions as regards female literacy prevailing in India in the golden days of yore when males and females had very nearly equal opportunities of receiving education, until recently education was regarded a privilege only of the stronger sex. The women's sphere of activity was the home where they could usefully engage themselves in household affairs and in looking after their children. As education was generally believed to be necessary only for those who had to ply liberal arts and professions, and as economic dependence of women was accepted as an axiomatic phenomenon, the desirability of making them educated did not occur to the menfolk. But the ideas of people have undergone great change during the last twenty years, and much more during the last ten years. Even the orthodox sections of Hindu society who feared to send their girls to schools, have realised the necessity of giving them proper training and making them economically independent, if they are to be saved from the untold miseries to which they are subjected during the period of enforced widowhood. Such professions as those of a school teacher or a nurse are nowadays regarded as the legitimate spheres of their activities. The parents of the higher classes who do not educate their daughters, find it difficult to marry them to suitable husbands. Education is being recognised as one of the necessary accomplishments of a young bride. Such and the like considerations have operated to mould public opinion in favour of educating the females. But they may be regarded to apply to the people of higher classes only. The majority of the population that is rural is still to be convinced of the necessity of educating the females. There are some social obstacles in the way of the education of women. Both among the Hindus and Muslims the early age at which marriages take place comes in the way of their completing even the primary stages of education. During the later stages, the necessary facilities for prosecuting secondary education are wanting and the parents are also unwilling that their daughters should attend the

Year	Number of Female Literates	Variation per cent. in the decade preceding the Census
1911	5,857	...
1921	10,277	+ 75·4
1931	12,974	+ 26·2
1911-31	...	+121·5

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same school as boys. Particularly among the Muslims, the *purdah* system greatly hampers the progress of literacy and lowers the incidence of the literates among their females.

243. Literacy compared with other States and Provinces.—Comparative statistics of general and English literacy are disclosed by the marginal statement for some of the Indian States and British Provinces. Of the fifteen units included therein, the position of this State is the sixth. As regards general literacy, it is preceded by the States of Cochin, Travancore and Baroda, and the British Provinces of Delhi and Coorg. The south Indian State of Cochin has 337 literates per mille aged 5 and over. But Bhavnagar with 162 is ahead of the Indian States of Mysore (106), Bikaner (50), Gwalior (47) and Hyderabead (47), as also of the British Provinces of Madras (108), Bombay (102), C. P. and Berar (60), the Punjab (59) and the U. P. (55). In the matter of English literacy also, this State is ahead of all the latter except the Presidency of Bombay which has one more person literate in English in a thousand aged 5 and over. But the State of Baroda which has 209 literates as against 162 for the State in the general population has 2 fewer English literates per mille at all ages 5 and over.

State or Province	Proportion per mille of literates aged 5 and over	
	In all Languages	In English
Cochin	337	37
Travancore... ...	289	19
Baroda	209	15
Coorg	176	28
Delhi	163	60
Bhavnagar State ...	*162*	*17*
Madras	108	14
Mysore	106	16
Bombay	102	18
Central Provinces and Berar	60	6
Punjab	59	11
United Provinces ...	55	6
Bikaner	50	5
Gwalior	47	5
Hyderabad... ...	47	5

SECTION III—LITERACY IN ENGLISH

244. Literacy in English.—Of the 68,409 literates, 7,175 or 10 per cent. are literate in English, of which 6,879 are males and only 296 females. In the general population at the age of 10 and over, there are 37 males literate in English as against only 2 females per 1,000. The corresponding male proportions are 42 and 24 respectively for the Censuses of 1921 and 1911. While there is an increase of 13 males literate in English per mille aged ten and over during the last twenty years, the corresponding increase during the decade 1911–21 amounted to 18, the causes of the somewhat inflated ratio of 1921 having been already noticed before. Of 296 females literate in English, 169 are Hindu, 8 Muslim, 20 Jain, 63 Zoroastrian and 36 Christian. The statistics compiled in the following Subsidiary Table show the literacy in English by age and sex for the State as a whole.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV

LITERACY IN ENGLISH BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY

STATE	LITERACY IN ENGLISH PER 10,000																			
	1931														1921				1911	
	5–10		10–15		15–20		20 and over		All ages 5 and over		All ages 10 and over		All ages		All ages 10 and over		All ages		All ages 10 and over		All ages	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Bhavnagar	39	4	169	137	582	28	384	15	316	15	371	17	268	12	421	17	286	13	245	7·5	181	6

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There are in the State 316 males literate in English per 10,000 aged 5 years and over, as against 15 females. The highest proportion of the English literates in the State are to be found in the age period 15-20 which claims 582 males and 28 females per 10,000 of each sex of those ages. The ratio is increased by the inclusion in this group of those who have completed secondary education and are receiving higher education at the college. But as would be expected the number of English literates per 10 mille is naturally the lowest (39 males, 4 females) in the age group 5–10 as it will include only those of the literates whose mother tongue is English and the proportion of such persons in the State is indeed very small. But at the ages of 20 and over which will include all those who have completed secondary as well as higher education, 384 males and 15 females in the ten thousand are literate in English.

Considering the ratios by religion supplied by the marginal statement, it is found that the Parsis of both the sexes aged 10 and over have the highest proportions per mille of their males (746) and females (534) literate in English. The Christian community in the State which includes both the Europeans and native Christians possesses 527 males and 409 females per mille of those ages literate in English. The relatively smaller ratios of the latter as compared to that of the Zoroastrians are derived from the greater number of Indian Christians who have been converted from the lower strata of Hindu society and are, therefore, necessarily backward and devoid of any knowledge of English. Among the three remaining main religions, the Jains lead in the matter of English literacy, as in the case of general literacy. 128 males per mille aged 10 and over can read and write English as against 32 Hindus and 25 Muslims of that sex. The Jain females are also a little ahead of their Hindu and Muslim sisters in the matter of English literacy.

Religion	Number per mille who are literate in English 1931 All ages 10 and over	
	Males	Females
All Religions	**37**	**1·7**
Hindu ...	32	1·0
Muslim ...	25	0·5
Jain ...	128	2·4
Zoroastrian ...	746	534·0
Christian ...	527	409·0

A reference to Subsidiary Table VIII which gives the statistics of general as well as English literacy by caste discloses some very interesting comparisons. Among the Parsis as in the case of general literacy, the numbers per 10,000 of both the sexes aged 7 and over who are able to read and write English are substantially large. Among the Hindu males, the higher castes like the Brahmans and Vanias have a fair distribution of the literates in English. Among the Brahmans, the numbers of those literate in English vary from 1,156 in 10,000 aged 7 and over for the Modh Brahmans to 5,243 for the Nagars, the intermediate places being taken up by the Shrimali and Audichya Brahmans with 2,995 and 1,786 respectively. Among the Vanias, despite a fairly high standard of general literacy, the Dashas fare badly in asmuchas they have got only 174 males aged 7 and over per 10 mille literate in English. But the similar proportion for the Vishas is 876 which rises to 1,516 for the Kapols and 2,580 for the Modhs. Among the remaining castes, the Luhanas have 1,318, Malis 1,234, Kadva Kanbis 525, Kachhias 346, Khavas 335 and Rajputs 240 males literate in English per 10,000 of that age. The remaining artisan castes have a tincture of English education, which is conspicuous by its general absence among such castes as the Vaghris and the untouchables. Similar ratios of English literacy among the Muslims are very low. Among the Khojas 554, among the Vohoras 388 and among the Memons 225 males are literate in English per 10 mille at all ages and over. But English education is particularly non-existent among the females of the State, except in such castes as the Nagar Brahmans and Dasha Shrimali Vanias, 670 and 169 females in 10,000 of whose females aged 7 and over can read and write English. Some of the other Brahman and Vania sub-castes and a few of the artisan castes have some of their females literate in English, but their proportions are too small to deserve any mention.

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English education is thus generally absent in the female population. Education among the females being cut off in the primary stages, literacy in English which is purely a question of secondary and higher education is generally ruled out in their case. It is, therefore, a sort of luxury in which only a few will indulge. One great obstacle to the education of women even in these few cases is the general apathy of the people towards an alien system and language of instruction which is deemed to unsex the women and dislocate that old and ancient social order for whose traditions Indian women have stood for ages. Early marriage, premature motherhood and the *purdah* system are also further impediments to the English education of women, which can only commence after the completion of the primary course.

245. English Literacy in the City and Towns.—The following Subsidiary Table supplies the statistics of literacy in English for the City of Bhavnagar :—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V

LITERACY IN ENGLISH BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY

CITY	LITERACY IN ENGLISH PER 10,000 (1931)													
	5–10		10–15		15–20		20 and over		All ages 5 and over		All ages 10 and over		All ages	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Bhavnagar	176	26	705	87	1,966	147	1,421	88	1,215	87	1,387	97	1,050	74

The City possesses the highest proportions (1,215 males, 87 females) per 10,000 of each sex aged 5 and over literate in English. The corresponding proportions for the State as a whole have been found to be only 316 and 15 respectively. In the City, while 1,421 males in 10,000 are literate in English at the ages of 20 years and over, the similar ratio for the age period 15-20 which includes those receiving secondary and collegiate instruction rises as high as 1,966. The relatively higher proportions of the English literates in the various age periods of the City population are due to the existence of the facilities for receiving English education at High Schools and the College where students from other parts of the State, as well as from outside the State flock for prosecuting their studies. The highly urban and industrial character of the City, and the location of the State Offices and Courts at the capital favours a higher ratio of the English literates, especially of the male sex. It will be amply demonstrated by the statistics collected in the margin which shows the number per ten mille of all ages 5 and over who are literate in English for the City and the towns of the State. In the case of all them except the former, literacy in English is confined only to the male population to whom it is essential for getting well-paid jobs in schools and other departments of the State. The location of High Schools and English schools and of the judicial and revenue courts favours the appearance of a substantial degree of male literacy in English at each of them. The foregoing statistics when compared with the marginal statement

Town	Number per 10,000 (all ages 5 and over) who are literate in English		
	Persons	Males	Females
Bhavnagar City	687	1,215	87
Sihor ...	324	655	2
Umrala ...	151	309	...
Gadhada ...	149	288	4
Botad ...	309	598	8
Lilia ...	199	391	...
Kundla ...	397	811	...
Rajula ...	333	751	12
Mahuva ...	417	814	11
Talaja ...	245	481	17

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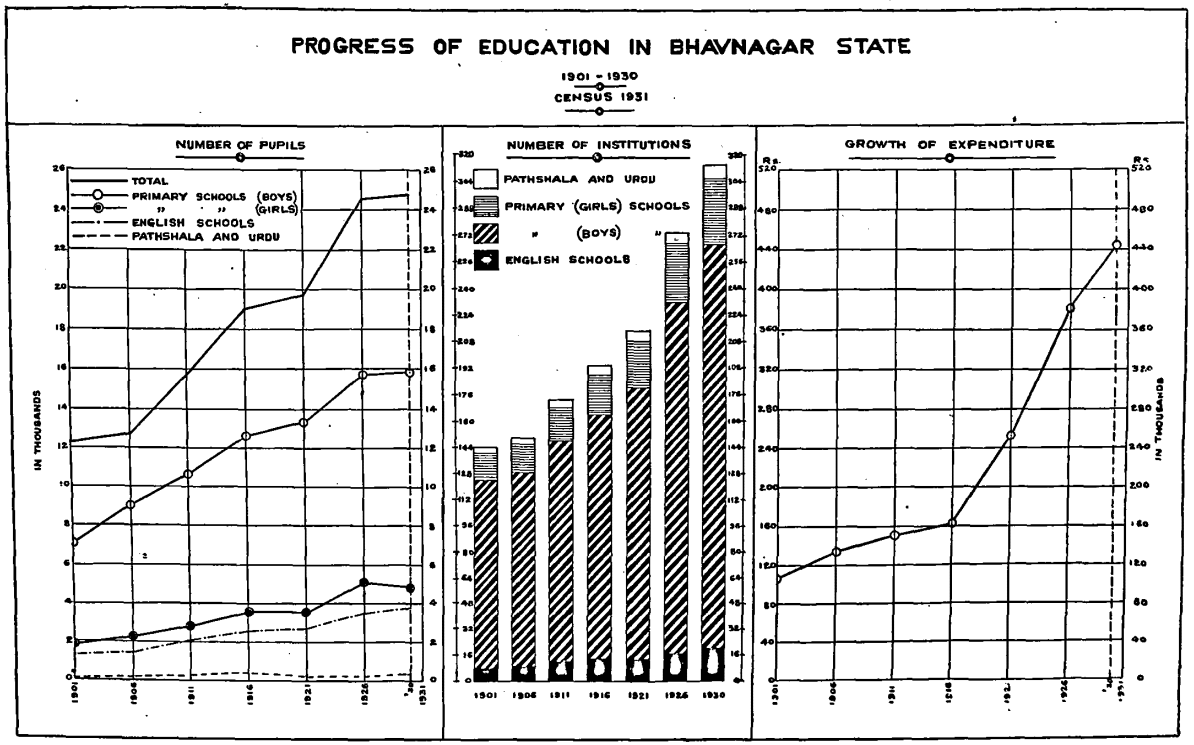

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giving the similar proportions for the rural area contained in each of the Mahals of the State vividly bring out the urban characteristic of literacy in English. While in the case of rural areas the ratio per ten mille of the population aged 5 and over ranges from 13 for the rural Mahuva to 75 for the rural Umrala, that for the towns varies from 149 for the town of Gadhada to 417 for the town of Mahuva, the characteristically high ratio (687) for the City having been already noticed before. In the ladder of English literacy Kundla with 397 comes next to Mahuva and is followed by Rajula, Sihor and Botad with 333, 324 and 309 respectively. Of the remaining towns Talaja has 245, Lillia 199, Umrala 151 and Gadhada 149 males literate in English per 10,000 aged 5 and over.

Rural area contained in the Mahal of	Number per 10,000 (all ages 5 and over) who are literate in English		
	Persons	Males	Females
Daskroi ...	40	79	...
Sihor ...	41	79	1
Umrala ...	75	135	7
Gadhada ...	11	21	...
Botad ...	43	81	...
Lilia ...	20	39	...
Kundla ...	18	34	0·3
Victor ...	25	48	...
Mahuva ...	13	26	...
Talaja ...	22	43	0·5

246. Literacy in other Cities compared.—In the margin are compared the statistics of general and English literacy for some of the Indian cities. While in the matter of general literacy, the ratio for the City of Bhavnagar is higher than that of some of the important cities whose statistics are available, so far as English literacy is concerned, it is beaten by all of them except the cities of Lasker and Bikaner. For, city literacy in English varies with the strength of that foreign element in the local population whose mother tongue is English. The absence of any appreciable number of such persons in Bhavnagar accounts for the low proportion of English literates returned by the City.

City	Proportion per mille of literates aged 5 and over	
	In all Languages	In English
Allahabad ...	485	218
Baroda ...	408	103
Bhavnagar ...	*359*	*69*
Bangalore ...	355	134
Madras ...	349	168
Lahore ...	269	114
Nagpur ...	251	90
Lasker ...	195	48
Bikaner ...	167	27

SECTION IV—EDUCATION

247. Returns of the Education Department.—The Census schedules do not provide for gathering statistics regarding the varied degree of literacy acquired by the enumerated. The Census Reports in India have, therefore, rightly made it a practice to incorporate in the Chapter on Literacy the statistics of the Education Department showing the progress of education in the primary, secondary and higher stages during the last thirty years. The Subsidiary Table VI prepared from the statistics kindly supplied by the Director of Public Instruction of the State, and the diagram opposite prepared therefrom show the rapid march in the numbers of institutions and scholars in the State during 1901–1931.

The Table shows a uniform progress under all the heads. While the total number of institutions has increased from 146 in 1901 to 216 in 1921 and to 315 in 1931, the total number of pupils has risen from 12,298 in 1901 to 19,792 in 1921 and to 25,134 in 1931. It is thus seen that the progress during the past decennium has been especially rapid. The total expenditure has correspondingly increased from Rs. 1,04,548 in 1901 to Rs. 2,50,714 in 1921 and to Rs. 4,40,891 in 1930. The increase in the number of Darbari primary schools during 1921–31 is particularly noteworthy. The percentages of increase both in the numbers of such institutions and their pupils are respectively 46 and 25. The number of students receiving education at the Samaldas College has gone up from 119 in 1921 to 282 in 1931. The statement in the margin supplies the figures of the

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simultaneous growth of the numbers of indigenous schools and pupils attending them. While the former have increased by 93 per cent. the latter by 64 during tbe last thirty years. These schools are situated in rulral areas, and so the temporary setback suffered by them in the numbers of schools and scholars owing to the influenza epidemic is well evidenced by the low figures for 1921. Besides, there are two private institutions of note whose experiments to impart education on lines other than the traditional deserve specific mention. The one is the Mahila Vidyalay started and worked by a band of enthusiastic workers devoted to the cause of women's education. It is affiliated to the Indian Women's University, Poona, and is attended by young as well as grown up ladies who receive secondary education on lines suited to the requirements of the fair sex. Another is the Daxina Murti Bhuvan which will be found described in the note appended herewith.

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils
1901	46	3,061
1911	55	3,310
1921	49	2,771
1932	89	5,131

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ADDITIONAL SUBSIDIARY TABLES

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND PUPILS ACCORDING TO THE RETURNS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS	1931				1921				1911				1901	
	NUMBER OF				NUMBER OF				NUMBER OF				NUMBER OF	
	Institutions	Males	Females	Scholars	Institutions	Males	Females	Scholars	Institutions	Males	Females	Scholars	Institutions	Scholar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
All Kinds ...	**315**	**20,146**	**4,988**	**25,134**	**216**	**16,232**	**3,550**	**19,792**	**174**	**12,003**	**2,831**	**15,834**	**146**	**12,298**
I Public Institutions ...	315	20,146	4,988	25,134	216	16,232	3,550	19,792	174	12,003	2,831	15,834	146	12,298
(a) Arts College	1	282	...	282	1	119	...	119	1	101	...	101	1	54
(b) Secondary Schools ...	18	2,807	180	2,987	13	1,895	87	1,982	10	1,562	40	1,602	7	1,184
(c) Primary Schools ...	279	15,020	4,128	91,148	191	11,867	3,473	15,340	156	10,015	2,791	12,806	135	10,688
(d) Grant-in-aid Schools ...	17	2,037	680	2,717	11	2,351	...	2,351	7	1,325	...	1,325	3	372
(i) Secondary	2	831	43	874	1	730	...	730	2	434	...	434	1	117
(ii) Primary	15	1,206	637	1,843	10	1,621	...	1,621	5	891	...	891	2	255

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII

PROPORTION OF LITERACY AT CERTAIN AGES

AGE GROUP	TOTAL POPULATION			TOTAL LITERATE			TOTAL LITERATE IN ENGLISH		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total ...	**4,07,000**	**2,14,877**	**1,92,123**	**68,223**	**55,288**	**12,935**	**7,044**	**6,748**	**296**
7-13 Years ...	92,232	48,703	43,829	10,981	8,111	1,870	304	278	26
14-16 ,, ...	41,326	26,639	14,687	6,876	5,310	1,566	864	813	51
17-23 ,, ...	62,043	31,398	30,645	13,421	10,273	3,151	2,018	1,942	76
24 Years and over	2,11,399	1,08,137	1,03,262	36,942	31,594	5,348	3,858	3,715	143

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII

EDUCATION BY CASTE

CASTE	Number per 1,000 aged 7 years and over who are literate (1931)			Number per 10,000 aged 7 years and over who are literate in English (1931)		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
HINDU						
Abir	15	26	2	3	5	...
Bava	97	152	29	40	72	...
Bhangi	7	16	...	...	...	...
Bharwad	5	7	3	...	...	...
Brahman Audichya ...	464	694	242	910	1,786	63
,, Modh	420	603	218	633	1,156	58
,, Nagar	641	732	533	3,146	5,243	670
,, Shrimali ...	515	666	388	1,380	2,995	31
Chamar	9	19	...	...	...	...
Charan	78	140	11	60	116	...
Darji	213	387	57	82	173	...
Dhed	20	36	4	2	4	...
Dhobi	88	153	16	73	139	...
Hajam	105	195	18	57	112	4
Kachhia	249	446	41	189	346	22
Kanbi Kadva	244	379	100	275	525	9
,, Lewa	69	122	11	18	35	...
Kansara	388	585	160	141	263	...
Kathi	98	174	22	17	31	4
Kumbhar	61	114	6	7	13	...
Khavas	165	304	52	176	335	94
Koli	19	37	1	4	8	...
Luhana	324	510	122	704	1,318	35
Luhar	207	368	40	84	165	...
Mali	257	443	37	670	1,234	...
Mochi	137	254	19	6	12	...
Rabari	16	29	2	3	5	...
Rajput	155	248	46	138	240	17
Soni	308	412	202	78	155	...
Sutar	223	411	48	98	198	4
Vaghri	21	39	1	...	...	...
Vania Kapol	550	758	353	744	1,516	9
,, Modh	528	687	368	1,309	2,580	36
,, Dasha Shrimali ...	508	642	373	89	174	169
JAIN						
Visha Shrimali	454	701	205	450	876	21
MUSLIM						
Ghanchi	102	192	9	7	14	...
Khoja	346	543	148	284	554	12
Memon	294	548	36	113	225	...
Pinjara	120	230	9	...	...	...
Sipai	144	263	7	51	92	3
Vohora	404	651	147	198	388	...
PARSI						
Parsi	815	819	810	6,036	6,913	5,000
CHRISTIAN						
Indian Christian ...	980	979	980	4,762	5,567	3,200

NOTE.—Corresponding Figures for 1921 are not available.

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APPENDIX II

DAXINA MURTI BHUWAN

1. Vinay Mandir.—Over and above the State and Aided institutions noted above, there is one private institution whose progressive activities in the field of education cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is the Daxina Murti Bhuwan situated in the City of Bhavnagar. This model institution which has by stages attained its present growth, was originally brought into being as a simple boarding house on the 28th December 1910. As a preliminary to the future school now widely known under the name of *Vinay Mandir*, a private class for teaching the English fourth standard course was opened a year later as an experimental measure. By June 1920, it came to impart instruction upto the 7th standard of an ordinary high school. The pupils numbered 195 in 1931. No fees are charged and free education is given to the students according to the Dalton Plan with necessary modifications to suit local conditions. This Plan which mainly relies for its results upon the efforts of the individual student dispenses with the fetters of time-table and the bug-bear of examinations, leaving him free to select his own subjects. Co-education does away with any necessity for separate classes for boys and girls, and breeds the necessary adjustment for social life. Sex education is a novel feature of this new school. It is imparted with due discretion and moderation by the *acharya* himself who is a thorough student of sex psychology. The usual literary type of education is flavoured by a fair admixture of technical training in weaving, sewing and carpentry, and in the fine arts like painting and music. The boarding house attached to the school had in 1931 a total number of 155 boarders of whom 40 were Brahmans, 77 Vanias, 1 Borata, 4 Bhatias, 2 Kshatriyas, 7 Patidars, 1 Ahir, 2 Sonis and 1 Luhar. Of these, 52 came from Kathiawar, 57 from Gujarat, 38 from Cutch, 1 from Karachi and 7 from the Deccan. What is particularly noteworthy about the school and the *Vidyarthi Gruha* are the general atmosphere of indepdenence and complete individual liberty, and the lack of that element of compulsion which distinguish the Dalton Plan of imparting education from that of the traditional. There is complete harmony, and the closest possible relation between the teachers and the taught. Added to this are the various activities of the boarders as the student's magazine, dialogues, periodical travels, compulsory physical exercise, celebration of religious festivities and the existence of a copious reading room and library, all of which are conducive to the full bodily, mental and spiritual development of the furture citizen. Mention must be made of the fact that the untouchables are also allowed to attend this school.

2. Bal Mandir.—That well-known school, the *Daxina Murti Bal Mandir* was first started in 1920. In 1931, it was attended by 92 children (54 boys, 38 girls). It is run on the Montessori lines, great stress being laid upon the training of the different senses of the child, and developing to the full all the latent powers of the young soul. Complete self-reliance and spontaneous learning by the child without the aid of the teacher are the secrets of this system. All the necessary materials are supplied by the school, and the tuition given is also free. A nominal fee of Re. 0-8-0 only is, however, charged to cover the expenses of the refreshments supplied to the children every afternoon. Only those between the ages of 3 and 6 are admitted to the Bal Mandir, and the latter being situated at a distance from the City, the students are taken from and to their houses by *tongas* hired by the institution. Mr. Gijoobhai and Mrs. Tarabai Modak are the soul of the Mandir, and the close touch in which they live with the students has greatly endeared them to their young friends. With a view to secure an alround development of the inmates of the school, small outdoor parties are arranged from time to time, butterflies are reared in its compound, excursions to parks and fields are undertaken for giving them first hand knowledge of birds, plants and trees, while practical training of the young mind is supplemented by occasionally taking them to shops and factories in the City. The artistic and the æsthetic about the young soul is also sought to be developed by the Kala Mandir.

3. Other Activities of the Bhuwan.—The Daxina Murti is also running a school for training teachers. It is divided into four sections according to the nature of work and the system of giving education for which they wish to prepare themselves. The first two sections train teachers in the Montessori and Dalton methods; the third in *chhatralaya* training, and the fourth in rural service. The students that are drawn from both the sexes, irrespective of caste and creed numbered 46 in 1931 and were drawn from the distant and near parts of the country. The Daxinamurtian touch with the main characteristics of self-realiance, development by the sheer dint of personal efforts, and fullest liberty to the individual is also seen about the teachers turned out by this school.

Before the principal activities of this growing institution are concluded, a reference must be made to the two remaining phases of its activities without which its acquaintance cannot be complete. First, its publication branch which began as an independent section in 1926 publishes a quarterly named *Daxina Murti*, and two magazines, *viz.*, (*i*) *Shikshana Patrika*, and (*ii*) *Chhatralaya*. The two latter magazines are published under the auspices of the Montessori Society and Chhatralaya Mandir respectively. The main object of this section is to bring within the easy reach of Gujrati-speaking population, and especially its younger generation, literature of great educative value, as also to prepare text-books for its schools. From the day of its inception till to-day, a total number of 167 books have been placed before the public. Of these, 20 are on

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pedagogy, 1 on sanitation, 1 on travel, 8 on religious subjects, 97 supply child literature, 12 are text-books, 22 are small stories, and 6 are on miscellaneous subjects in Sanskrit. All these are artistically designed and their printing and get-up are attractive. The value of the work done by this section is enhanced, apart from the superior quality of stuff embodied in these books, by the cheapness at which they are offered for sale. Only Rs. 32 can purchase all the 167 books that have been published up till now.

The last but not the least is the scheme known as the *Akshar Gnan Yojana* of late taken in hand by the enterprising promoters of the Daxina Murti. It aims at removing mass illiteracy obtaining in the rural population by training them in the art of reading through the agency of volunteers specially trained for the purpose. They undertake lecture tours from village to village, acquaint them with the alphabet and then teach them to decipher the written character. Writing is not to be taught. These people will, therefore, not be literate in the Census sense according to which only those who can both read and write are literate. The attempt is really praiseworthy, and has the good wishes of all who have at heart the eradication of the widespread illiteracy among the masses.

These then are some of the main spheres of activities of this noteworthy institution whose contribution in the domain of education is indeed valuable. It owes its development and progress in the present form in the main to the efforts of Mr. Nrusimhprasad K. Bhatt, M.A., one of its original promoters, and the enthusiastic band of self-less workers by whom he is assisted. During recent years, the institution has acquired great publicity and attracts visitors from outside in ever increasing numbers.

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CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE

SECTION I—INTRODUCTORY

248. Reference to Statistics.—The interest that attaches to this Chapter is mainly statistical. Figures of various languages returned, and the extent of bilingualism as revealed by the records of subsidiary languages will be discussed therein. Imperial Table XV should be referred to for the absolute figures of the languages returned at the present Census. It has been on this occasion divided into two Parts. Part A supplies the usual statistics of the languages spoken in home. But Part B is a new feature of the present Census returns, and comes to be compiled from the inclusion of one more column in the general schedule for returning subsidiary languages known to a speaker in addition to his mother tongue recorded in column 14. Until 1921, only the language ordinarily used or the language of home was returned. This time the distinction is between the mother tongue and the subsidiary language or languages known to the speaker over and above his mother tongue. The latter statistics returned for the first time in column 15 of the schedule form the basis of Part B, and enable one to gauge the extent of bilingualism that prevails in the State. Subsidiary Tables giving the proportionate figures are also compiled and inserted in the Chapter.

249. The Nature and Accuracy of Returns.—The instructions issued for recording the language returns were plain and simple, and easily understood by the enumerators. The following instructions were printed on the enumeration book cover:—

"Column 14 (Language).—Enter each person's mother-tongue. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes the language of the mother should be entered."

Everybody knows his genuine mother tongue as first spoken from the cradle and there is little chance of his misunderstanding the question put by the enumerator. A few children who had not as yet acquired the power of speech were returned as speaking nothing, but such errors were rectified in the Abstraction Office where the language of their mothers was copied on the slips. Some persons to whom one language was equally well known as the other might have returned as mother tongue a language which was not the language of their home. A Kachchhi speaker might have returned Gujarati, or a Muslim Urdu as his home tongue. But such mistakes were negligible in number and did not in the least affect the accurcy of the language returns.

As for returning the subsidiary languages, (*i*) the book cover and (*ii*) the Census Code respectively directed as under :—

Column 15 (Subsidiary Language)

(*i*) "Enter the language or languages habitually spoken by each person in addition to his mother-tongue in daily or domestic life."

(*ii*) "The entry in column 14 should be that of a man's genuine mother-tongue as first spoken from the cradle. In column 15 may be entered any other language or languages which are well known to or commonly used by the speaker."

The returns in this behalf embrace two classes of persons. On the one hand, there are those outsiders whose mother tongue is not Gujarati, but who have picked it up from their association with the people of the State, as also those who

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mother tongue is Gujarati, but who have learnt additional languages from their residence in tracts where they are spoken. On the other hand, there are persons to whom extra languages are well known as a result of the special study they have made of them, while at school or college or at home. The entry was to be made not only in the case of persons habitually using a subsidiary tongue in daily or domestic life, but also in the case of persons to whom it was well known. The statistics regarding bilingualism would properly include only the former set of figures, but the explanation given in the Code has been responsible for the return of the second set of figures also. Owing to this double application of the definition, some who knew only a smattering of an extra language like the Hindi or English would have returned themselves as knowing it well, while others who knew well a subsidiary language like the English or Sanskrit, would not have returned it through inadvertence. But the margin of error must be very small, and the statistics of subsidiary languages can give a fairly good idea of the extent of bilingualism in the State.

250. Scheme of Classification.—In the Abstraction Office, the language returns are not tabulated just as they are recorded in the schedules. The linguistic survey has been completed in India, and the tabulation follows the revised scheme of classification of Indian languages suggested by Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India. The languages that are entered in the Census forms are not infrequently different from those recognised as standard languages by the Survey. In some cases, a dialect is returned as a mother tongue, while in others the regional differences of accent and pronunciation explain the different name under which it is returned. Kachchhi was returned as a separate language though not so under the Grierson Scheme, according to which it is a dialect of Sindhi. The persons returned as speaking Kachchhi should have been, therefore, shown under Sindhi. But in the Census, its local importance has been taken into account while showing it separately. Similarly Hindustani and Urdu should have gone into the Table under Western Hindi. But the special significance that is nowadays attached to these dialects and their historical importance have argued in favour of their being treated separately. Marwari, a dialect of Rajasthani, has been shown under that language. The special lingo spoken by the wandering tribe of Adodias figures in the Table as a Gipsy language. Barring these few exceptional cases, the classification of languages presented no difficulty, as the returns were on the whole correctly made, and required little reshuffling at the hands of the compiler. Once the languages were correctly ascertained, the next step was to assign them to their respective sub-groups, groups, sub-branches, branches, sub-families and families after consulting the Grierson Scheme.

251. Language and Dialect.—Before examining the statistcs relating to mother tongues returned at the current Census and comparing them with those of the past, it will be instructive to consider the distinction between 'Language' and 'Dialect'. Illustrating their difference, Sir George Grierson respectively likens them to mountain and hill, which are very often used in a loose manner. Giving the explanation of the Century Dictionary, the same authority says:—

> "In common use we may say that, as a general rule, different dialects of the same language are sufficiently alike to be reasonably well understood by all whose native tongue is that language, while different languages are so unlike that special study is needed to enable one to understand a language that is not his own."[1]

But it has been well pointed out that this is not an essential difference. Because it is not always true that all mutually intelligible forms of speech are dialects and that only those that are non-intercommunicable are alone languages. Such a test will fail miserably in bilingual tracts where two languages are ordinarily known to their inhabitants who may be speaking in one language in their homes, but in quite a different language in their intercourse with the outsiders. Again two different languages very often

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 122.

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possess a large number of words in common, as in Gujarati and Rajasthani and are, therefore, mutually intelligible. A reference, however, to the vernacular equivalents of these two terms which are *bhasha* or language and *boli* or dialect makes their meaning more distinct. In the case of a dialect, the difference as its Gujarati equivalent *boli* indicates is mainly of accent or pronunciation and to some extent of vocabulary. This is clearly brought out by the popular Gujarati proverb, '*bar gau e boli badalay*,' which means that the *boli* changes after every twelve miles that you travel. Thus the dialects are not so many different languages but only the variants of the native tongue whose grammatical structure they usually adopt. The different speakers of the dialects of the same language commonly understand one another, which is not the case with the speakers of different languages. Hindustani and Urdu are the dialects of Western Hindi, and are mutually understood by their speakers. But a Marathi speaker would not commonly understand Gujarati, and *vice versa*. The task of deciding whether a particular form of speech is a dialect or language is not easy, for even amongst the dialects themselves there are radical differences of idiom and construction, which also possess distinct literatures of great repute and standing. But the acid test of differences of grammatical structure solves the problem. Added to it is also the factor of nationality and race with its independent literature which enters into the connotation of the term language. Thus apart from the general definition of non-intercommunicability of languages, there are the fundamental differences of grammatical structure and nationality that go to distinguish one language from another.

252. Main Features of the Returns.—Subsidiary Table I printed at the end illustrates the principal features of the language statistics. The group, sub-branch or branch, and the family to which each belongs are shown along with the number of its speakers, and the number per thousand of the population speaking it are compared with those of 1921.

Out of 179 languages spoken in India according to the Linguistic Survey, 23 have been returned in the State in 1931 as against 14 in 1921. Khandeshi or Ahirani and Bhili returned at the latter Census are absent at the present. The eleven additional languages recorded at this Census are, therefore, Urdu, Hindustani, Gipsy, Kashmiri, Pashto, Balochi, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Karnataki, and Portuguese which claim between them 2,927 speakers. The increase is real and accounted for by the growing tide of immigration of persons speaking foreign tongues during the past decennium, as a result of the expansion of trade and commerce at the Port of Bhavnagar.

Among the vernaculars of India, the returns under the Indo-European Family are the highest (4,99,922) and its Central Group with 4,97,452 speakers which includes Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, Rajasthani, Hindustani and Punjabi languages returned in the State belongs to its Inner Sub-branch. The Indo-Aryan Branch of this family claims 2,372 speakers of which as many as 1,984 belong to the North-Western Group with 1,520 Kachchhi and 464 Sindhi speakers. Its Southern Group appropriates 381 of which 300 are credited to Marathi and 81 to Konkani. Another family returned under the Indian Vernaculars is the Dravidian with 26 speakers. Arabic belonging to the Semitic Family is the only language classed under other Asiatic languages, and accounts for 194 speakers; but the Indo-European Family grouped under the European languages claims only 65 speakers.

SECTION II—MOTHER TONGUES RETURNED

253. Gujarati.—The language returns of the State, of course, bear the stamp of the predominance of Gujarati. It accounts for 4,94,198 in 1931 as against 4,23,969 speakers in 1921. This increase in the number of the Gujarati-speaking population should be attributed to the increase in the State population during the last ten years. But a comparison of the number per mille of the population of 1931 with that of 1921 discloses that it suffers in its proportionate

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strength. For, as against 994 persons in every thousand of the population that spoke Gujarati as their mother tongue in 1921, there are 988 in 1931. Thus every thousand of the present population has 6 fewer Gujarati speakers than those returned by the last Census; and to that extent the strength of foreign languages has increased, and the current of migration widened. The reason why nearly 99 per cent. of the total population are appropriated by the Gujarati language is to be sought into the geographical situation of the State which does not permit of the prevalence within its boundaries of any other foreign language as mother tongue except that of the outsiders from other linguistic divisions. But the total absence of bilingual tracts accounts for the complete dominance of Gujarati as the mother tongue of the State.

254. Kachchhi.—Though a dialect of Sindhi, its local importance entitles it to be treated separately. It is not a standard language recognised by the Linguistic Survey. Cutch is on the borderlands of Sindh and Gujarat. It has, therefore, developed a special dialect of its own which is born from Sindhi and possesses a fair inter-mixture of Gujarati words. The number of Kachchhi speakers returned at the current Census is 1,520 as against only 467 in 1921. In every thousand of the population, there are to-day three persons speaking Kachchhi as against only one ten years ago. The smaller figure shown for the latter is suspicious. For, though a part of the greater number recorded in 1931 is due to the return home of some of the Kachchhi speaking Memons after the boom period that marked the post-war years was over, a considerable portion of it should be accounted for by the mistaken entries made in 1921 in returning some of the Kachchhi speakers as speaking Gujarati. And this is not without reason when it is borne in mind that they can use both these languages with equal ease and facility. Of the total number of 1,520 persons returned as speaking Kachchhi, 1,471 are Musalmans, 48 Hindus, and only 1 Jain. Among the Muslims, Kachchhi is the mother tongue of the Memons, and of the Luhanas among the Hindus. Its parent tongue, Sindhi, accounts for 464 speakers as against only 136 in 1921. The growth in their numbers results from better enumeration. These Sindhi speakers are to be found chiefly in the border of Mahals of Umrala, Lilia, Kundla and Victor where their forefathers were given lands in lieu of military service they were to render in those troublous times when the conditions in the Peninsula were not peaceful, and the danger of invasion from adjoining states imminent.

255. Marathti and Konkani.—Both these languages belong to Southern Group of the Indo-Aryan Branch of the Indo-European Family. They respectively claim 300 and 81 speakers as against 115 and 75 in 1921. While the proportionate strength of the Konkani speakers has remained very nearly the same, that of the persons speaking Marathi has more than doubled. The proportion per mille of the latter has risen from ·3 in 1921 to ·6 in 1931. The Marathi and Konkani speakers are mostly those who have come to the State for employment either in its administrative departments or in other educational institutions.

256. Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu.—Hindi and Urdu are the varieties of Hindustani which according to the Linguistic Survey is the dialect of Western Hindi, and is chiefly spoken in the Madhyadesh or mid-land, the home of the Indo-Aryans, that is the country between Sirhind in the Punjab and Allahabad in the United Provinces. Recognising these distinctions, the Census Code provided:—

> "In the case of both Hindi and Urdu speakers "Hindusthani" is the proper entry for this column (14), but if literate this should be followed in column (16) by the entry "Hindi" or "Urdu" according as the person enumerated writes in the one or the other script."

But these instructions do not seem to have received proper attention at the hands of the enumerators, as all the three have been separately returned. This has been in a way helpful in showing them separately in the Census Table, and enabled us to get an idea of the speakers of each of them. For, as will be seen

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further, all the three have separate existence, and stand for different forms of the Hindustani language. The statistics for all the three combined would have been shown under the Western Hindi language as advised by the Grierson Scheme of classification, but for the fact that what has been styled as Western Hindi by the Survey is merely a cumulative term under which the dialects of Hindustani and Braja Bhakha are to be grouped. In common use, all these three names, Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are very loosely applied, and to a layman, one is the synonym for the other. But this is not truly so. Hindi and Urdu are the varieties of Hindustani which is not only a vernacular dialect of Western Hindi, but is also the well-known literary language of the Upper Doab, and the *lingua franca* current over nearly the whole of India. It developed its latter aspect in the bazaar attached to the Delhi Court during the Mughal rule. That variety of Hindustani which is written in the Persian script, and has a greater admixture of Persian including Arabic words is styled Urdu, while Hindi is that form of Hindustani which is written in the Nagari character and possesses a vocabulary with a large number of Sanskrit words. These three distinctions are very clearly explained by Dr. Grierson, in the following passage of the Survey :—

HINDOSTANI, URDU and HINDI.

"We may now define the three main varieties of Hindostani as follows :—Hindostani is primarily the language of the Northern Doab, and is also the *lingua-franca* of India, capable of being written both in the Persian and the Nagari characters and, without purism avoiding alike the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature. The name 'Urdu' can then be confined to that special variety of Hindostani in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence and which therefore can only be written with ease in the Persian character; and similarly 'Hindi' can be confined to that form of Hindostani in which Sanskrit words abound, and which therefore is legible only when written in the Nagari character. These are the definitions which were proposed by the late Mr. Growse, and they have the advantage of being intelligible, while at the same time they do not overlap. Hitherto, all these words have been very loosely employed. Finally, I use 'Eastern Hindi' to connote the group of intermediate dialects of which Awadhi is the chief and 'Western Hindi' to connote the group of dialects of which Braj Bhakha and Hindostani (in its different phases) are the best known examples."[1]

The total number of 2,968 speakers has been returned as using Western Hindi in their homes. Of these, 273 are claimed by Hindustani, 239 by Hindi, and as many as 2,456 by Urdu. Hindustani proper which is capable of being spoken by both the Hindus and Muslims claims respectively 171 and 101 speakers. Hindi being a sanskritized form of Hindustani is mainly returned by the Hindus who are 190 as against 33 Muslims. Urdu being persianized Hindustani all of its speakers but two are Mahomedans. The return of Hindi and Hindustani by both the Hindus and Muslims illustrates the vagueness with which these terms are generally used. They are returned mainly by the outsiders in the State. But the majority of Urdu speakers are the Muslims of the State who have retained it as their home tongue. The language spoken by them is not really the persianized Hindustani of Northern India. It is a hybrid language with a fair vocabulary of Gujarati words. In the 1921 Census, no separate returns for Urdu and Hindustani were shown. All the three entered under Hindi which should be Western Hindi claimed in all 1,444 speakers as against 2,968 returned at the present Census. As against 3 in every thousand of the 1921 population that spoke that language, there are 6 in 1931. Out of the total number of 2,968 speakers of Western Hindi as many as 2,588 or 87 per cent. are Muslims. Increase in the volume of immigration and of natural population alone cannot explain the increase of 1,524 speakers. A substantial portion of the increase is also due to better enumeration, as it is just possible that in 1921 Gujarati might have been returned for some of the Urdu-speaking Musalmans of the State who understand and use Gujarati equally well as Urdu.

257. Gipsy Language.—On the night of the 26th February, there were in the jail of the Umrala Mahal 66 Adodias, 18 males and 48 females, for whom no particular language was returned. The Adodias are a wandering tribe of desperadoes whose native land is shrouded in obscurity, and are believed to have come from Marwar. Though they can understand Gujarati owing to their long residence in this part of the country, they use in their private conversation a special lingo which is known only to themselves. They lead a Bohemian life,

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Part IX, p. 167.

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and as their language does not belong to any definite group of languages, it has been shown under the Gipsy group of unclassed languages.

258. Other Languages Returned.—The increasing flow of immigration is responsible for the eleven more languages returned at the present Census. The Marwadi immigrants who supply the manual labour in many a bazaar, at the Railway station, as also at the dock are to be found in every thriving town of Gujarat and Kathiawar. The Marwadi dialect which they speak is shown under Rajasthani, and their numbers have increased from 47 in 1921 to 195 in 1931. Of the latter as many as 192 live in the City of Bhavnagar alone, the growth of whose trade and industry during 1921-31 is well-known. It will be of some interest to learn that Rajasthani and Gujarati are the sister languages of one parent tongue from which both of them have developed since the 15th Century A. D. Punjabi claims 91 speakers as against only 12 in 1921 who are for the most part servants in the Bhavnagar State Railway. The Eastern Group of the Indo-Aryan Branch has 7 persons speaking Bengali. While the Dardic Branch of the Indo-European Family is represented by only one person speaking Kashmiri, the Eastern Group of its Eranian Branch is represented by the Pashto and Balochi languages which respectively claim 10 and 87 speakers, as against none at the previous Census. The Dravidian Family has returned Dravidian and Andhra Groups to which belong Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese languages on the one hand, and Telugu on the other. While there are 6 persons speaking Tamil, 7 speaking Malayalam, and 12 speaking Kanarese, there is only one person whose mother tongue is Telugu. There are in 1931, 194 persons speaking Arabic as against 90 in 1921. It is the mother tongue of those Arab *chauses* whose presence at the entrance of State *kacheris* cannot be missed. Portuguese belonging to the Romance group and English to the Teutonic of the Indo-European Family respectively appropriate 19 and 46 speakers. All the last mentioned speakers of the non-Indian languages are State servants. The process of Hinduisation of the non-Aryan races is complete, and with their absorption in the Hinduistic fold their original mother tongue has been long before displaced by Gujarati. Naturally, therefore, there is no return under any of the non-Aryan languages, except that of the Adodias which has been already classed as Gipsy.

259. Linguistic Composition of the City.—The marginal statement compares the mother tongues and the numbers per mille of the State population who speak them with those of the City of Bhavnagar. Whereas 988 persons in every thousand of the total population have Gujarati as the language of their home, the similar proportion for the City reduces itself to 943. So in every 1,000 that live in the City, 57 persons are possessed of a mother tongue which is other than Gujarati, as against only 12 in the State as a whole. This will be clearly understood from the fact that out of a total number of 6,076 non-Gujarati speakers, as many as 4,278

Language	Number of Speakers		Number per mille of the population	
	State	City	State	City
Vernaculars of India				
Gujarati ...	4,94,198	71·316	987·8	943·4
Hindi ...	239	198	·5	2·6
Urdu ...	2,456	1,891	4·9	25·0
Hindustani ...	273	212	·5	2·8
Rajasthani ...	195	150	·4	1·9
Punjabi ...	91	29	·2	·4
Sindki ...	464	15	·9	·2
Kachchhi ...	1,520	1·242	3·0	16·5
Marathi ...	300	220	·6	3·0
Konkani ...	81	78	·2	1·0
Bengali ...	7	4	...	·1
Kashmiri ...	1	...	...	...
Pashto ...	10	9	...	·1
Balochi ...	87	10	·2	·1
Tamil ...	6	3	...	...
Malayalam ...	7	7	...	·1
Kanarese ...	12	12	...	·2
Telugu ...	1	1	...	...
Karnataki ...	1	1	...	...
Gipsy ...	66	...	·1	...
Other Asiatic Languages				
Arabic ...	194	135	·4	1·8
European Languages				
Portuguese ...	19	16	·1	·2
English ...	46	45	·1	·6

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or 70 per cent. are City-dwellers. The reason for this variation is to be sought in the cosmopolitan nature of the urban population which is affected to a considerable extent by the currents of migration. Foreign tongues are returned only by the Urdu speaking Musalmans of the state and those foreigners who are the inhabitants of tracts where languages other than Gujarati are spoken. The relatively greater preponderance of the latter element in the City as compared to the State as a whole is induced by the industrial and commercial occupations and location of the principal State Offices at the capital which provide these outsiders with the means to earn their living. Out of 2,968 that speak Western Hindi and 1,520 that speak Kachchhi, as many as 2,301 and 1,242 respectively reside in the City. The proportions per mille that speak them are 31 and 17 respectively as compared to 6 and 3 in the general population. Moreover, both these are mostly Muslims who being a minority community live more in the City than in rural areas. Even amongst the remaining alien tongues, a fair amount is claimed by the City. The linguistic composition of the State thus differs greatly from that of the City where the majority of the non-Gujarati speaking population resides.

SECTION III—BILINGUALISM

260. Bilingualism.—The provision for the return of subsidiary languages has resulted in the tabulation of the statistics showing the extent of bilingualism in the State. As there are no bilingual tracts in the State, and as Gujarati is the main home tongue, the returns of subsidiary languages are chiefly confined only to those of the Muslims and Kachchhis and outsiders whose mother tongue is other than Gujarati. In all, eighteen languages have been returned as being used subsidiary to their mother tongues by 7,051, persons of which 4,436 are males and 2,615 females. Gujarati tops the list and has 2,500 males, and 2,152 females using it as subsidiary to the language of their home. It is the language of the State, and is used by the people in their daily life. Being the court language, and the medium through which all official and commercial correspondence takes place, it claims greater attention of the non-Gujarati speakers. Public instruction is also imparted through Gujarati, and the outsiders, though speaking their native tongue at home, send their children to the local schools where they receive their education through the State language. The Musalmans of the State who have returned Urdu as their mother tongue, know Gujarati as well as and perhaps better than Urdu. For, out or 2,456 persons speaking Urdu as their mother tongue, Gujarati is well known to 1,985. Similarly with the Kachchhis also, 85 per cent. of whose speakers use Gujarati in their domestic life in addition to their mother tongue. Out of twenty-three mother tongues that have been returned at the present Census, the speakers of nineteen of them use it as a subsidiary language. The speakers of the Gipsy, Pashto, Kashmiri and Kanarese languages only have no speaker returned to them to whom it is known as a subsidiary language. Next in order comes English which is used as a subsidiary language by 1,184 males and 43 females of whom 1,148 and 40 respectively speak Gujarati in their homes. The actual number of persons to whom English is well known as a subsidiary language must be much more than that returned by the Census, the omissions being due to the double application of the term subsidiary language already referred to in para 249 above. The additional knowledge of the English tongue on the part of a fair number of Gujarati speakers is explained by the fact that it is the semi-official language of the State, through which is also imparted the secondary and higher education in the High Schools and the College. Moreover, among the educated classes, it acts as a sort of *lingua franca* in which two persons not acquainted with one another's mother tongue can easily communicate.

The group of Western Hindi forms of speech as represented by Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu, the various forms which its Hindustani dialect assumes next claims our attention. Their speakers are respectively 134, 127 and 358 in number. Urdu as a subsidiary language is used generally by the local Musalmans

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in their conversation with their non-Gujarati speaking co-religionists. Their children are also taught to learn Urdu in the Madressa. So out of 358 persons who use it as subsidiary to their home language, the mother tongue of as many as 327 is Gujarati. On the other hand, Hindustani and Hindi as subsidiary languages are spoken respectively by only 18 and 38 persons speaking Gujarati. It will be seen from Subsidiary Table II that while Hindustani is used as subsidiary to four languages and Urdu to nine, Hindi is used as subsidiary to as many as eleven mother tongues. Claims of Hindi and Hindustani to become the *lingua franca* of India have heen variously pressed. The vernacular Hindustani which is capable of being written in either the Nagari or Persian script, and is used as the *lingua franca* all over the Indian Continent, is better suited to be the mediate form of speech through which two strangers who do not understand one another's language can talk. But so far as this State is concerned the *lingua frnca* movement has not gained the slightest currency. A few persons may have returned Hindi or Hindustani to show off their knowledge of it as a *lingua franca*, but the consideration of the total number of such speakers refutes any claim that both of them may even jointly make to their being used as languages through which two outsiders would communicate. In the total population of 5,00,274 persons, they are known as subsidiary languages to only 261 speakers. The users of Urdu as a subsidiary tongue have been purposely left out of account, because as already noted before, the majority of them are the Muslims of the State whose mother tongue is Gujarati. Again out of 4,94,198 that speak Gujarati, only 56 out of the aforesaid 261 use Hindi and Hindustani in addition to their mother tongue. This would negative any claim either of Hindustani or Hindi jointly or severally to be treated as a *lingua franca* in the State. If some persons talk in either of them, it is not because both the speakers can understand it, but because one of them happens to have it as his mother tongue. Except when one of the two speakers is a European, no two non-Gujarati speaking persons whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani would use it as a medium of conversation. If educated, they would use English rather than Hindustani. As for example, when a Gujarati speaker meets a Marathi speaker, he would not talk in Hindustani but in Englisb. If they do not know English, each would try to imitate the language of the other and thus make himself intelligible. The case of the Muslims, however, stands on quite a different footing, as they can use a mongrel Urdu with a fair intermixture of his local tongue. But there is nothing like a conscious effort on the part of the people of the State to make themselves intelligible to others from whom their mother tongue differs by using Hindustani or Hindi as a *lingua franca.*

Amongst the remaining subsidiary languages, Sanskrit is the language in which the Hindu Scriptures are written. Its knowledge is essential to those whose bussiness it is to earn their livelihood by reading the *kathas* and Puranas, as also to those who deal in Ayurvedic medicine. It is but, therefore, natural that out of 41 persons whose extra language it happens to be, 37 are persons with Gujarati as their mother tongue. In the State Gujarati as an additional language is known to almost every speaker of Kachchhi who comes into daily contact with his Gujarati brethren. The main association of the Kachchhi speakers is with the Gujaratis, and so it is but natural that all the 202 persons using it as a subsidiary tongue are the speakers of Gujarati as their home language. Other languages that are important as subsidiary languages are Marathi and Arabic. Among the 48 persons using the former as subsidiary to their mother tongue, 44 speak Gujarati in their homes. Usually the people in the State have no occasion to learn Marathi. Those Marathi immigrants who come to the State know Gujarati well, and it does not become in the least necessary for those who come in touch with the Marathi speakers to know their language. Its knowledge on the parf of the Gujarati speakers is, however, derived from their association with the Marathi speakers outside the State. In the City of Bombay especially, the speakers of Gujarati are forced to pick up Marathi as it is the language of the servants, shopkeepers and fellow employees with whom they have to deal in everyday life. The Marathi which they thus learn is enough for their immediate purpose, and is neither pure nor gramma-

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tical. The mother tongue of 84 out of 89 persons who use Arabic as subsidiary to the language of their homes is Gujarati. It is the language of the Holy Quoran and learnt by the Musalmans of the State for studying the teachings of the Prophet. All the 141 users of Sindhi have Gujarati as their mother tongue. The remaining languages returned are Rajasthani, Bengali, Persian, Telugu, French, Portuguese and German whose users as subsidiary tongues range from 1 to 10.

Subsidiary Languages	Total	Males	Females
Total	**36**	**28**	**8**
Sanskrit-English ...	3	3	...
English-Urdu ...	6	6	...
English-Kachchhi ...	1	1	...
English-Gujarati ...	1	1	...
Arabic-Urdu ...	6	4	2
Marathi-Hindi ...	2	1	1
Bengali-Urdu ...	1	1	...
Gujarati-Arabic ...	1	1	...
Gujarati-Urdu ...	5	2	3
Gujarati-Hindi ...	1	1	...
Marathi-Hindi-English	2	2	...
Hindi-Bengali-Sanskrit	1	1	...
Kachchhi-Arabic-Urdu	1	...	1
Sanskrit-Gujarati-Urdu	1	1	...
Hindi-Marathi-Urdu ...	1	1	...
Gujarati-Marathi-Urdu	1	...	1
English-Irani-Urdu ...	1	1	...
Telugu-Hindi-Marathi-English	1	1	...

261. Tri and Poli-lingualism.—While the sorting was in progress, those cases in which more than one subsidiary language was known to the speakers were noted down on the Sorter's Ticket. The marginal statement compiled from these notes shows the statistics of tri and poli-lingualism in the State. It will be seen that there are 27 persons knowing two, 8 knowing three, and only 1 knowing four subsidiary languages.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

LANGUAGES

LANGUAGE	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS 1921	TOTAL NUMBER OF SPEAKERS 1931	Number per mille of the Population of 1931	Number per mille of the Population of 1921
1	2	3	4	5
Total	4,26,404	5,00,274	1,000	1,000
GROUP A—Vernaculars of India ...	4,26,291	5,00,015	999·5	999·7
I—Indo-European Family	**4,26,279**	**4,99,922**	**999·3**	**999·7**
Inner-Sub Branch	*4,25,472*	*4,97,452*	*994·3*	*997·8*
Central Group	*4,25,472*	*4,97,452*	*994·3*	*997·8*
Gujarati	4,23,969	4,94,198	987·8	994·3
Hindi	1,444	239	·5	3·4
Urdu	...	2,456	4·9	...
Hindustani	...	273	·5	...
Rajasthani	47	195	·4	·1
Punjabi	12	91	·2	...
Indo-Aryan Branch	*797*	*2,372*	*4·8*	*1·9*
North-Western Group	*603*	*1,984*	*4·0*	*1·4*
Sindhi	136	464	1·0	·3
Kachchhi	467	1,520	3·0	1·1
Southern Group	*190*	*381*	*·8*	*·5*
Marathi	115	300	·6	·3
Karnataki	75	81	·2	·2
Eastern Group	*4*	*7*	...	...
Bengali	4	7	...	...
Dardic Branch	...	*1*	...	...
Dard Group	...	*1*	...	...
Kashmiri	...	1	...	...
Eranian Branch	...	*97*	*·2*	...
Eastern Group	...	*97*	*·2*	...
Pashto	...	10	...	...
Balochi	...	87	·2	...
II—Dravidian Family	**10**	**26**	**·1**	...
Dravidian Group	*10*	*25*	*·1*	...
Tamil	...	6	...	...
Malayalam	...	7	...	...
Kanarese	10	12	...	...
Andhra Group	...	*1*	...	...
Telugu	...	1	...	...
Unclassed	**13**	**67**	**·1**	...
Gipsy	12	66	·1	...
Karnataki	...	1	...	...
GROUP B.—Other Asiatic Languages ...	90	194	·4	·2
Semitic Family	*90*	*194*	*·4*	*·2*
Arabic	90	194	·4	·2
GROUP C.—European Languages ...	23	65	·1	·1
Indo-European Family	*23*	*65*	*·1*	*·1*
Romance Group	...	*19*	...	...
Portuguese	...	19	...	...
Teutonic Group	*23*	*46*	*·1*	*·1*
English	23	46	·1	·1

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION BY LANGUAGE OF THE POPULATION OF THE STATE

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION SPEAKING — GUJARATI

STATE	Bhavnagar	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
As mother tongue	9,878·8	2·7	39·6	2·9	2·8	·43	7·4	25·8	3·9	·63	·09	1·73	·859	·019	
As Subsidiary to Hindi	2·7														
As Subsidiary to Urdu	39·6														
As Subsidiary to Hindustani	2·9														
As Subsidiary to Rajasthani	2·8														
As Subsidiary to Punjabi	·43														
As Subsidiary to Sindhi	7·4														
As Subsidiary to Kachchhi	25·8														
As Subsidiary to Marathi	3·9														
As Subsidiary to Konkani	·63														
As Subsidiary to Bengali	·09														
As Subsidiary to Balochi	1·73														
As Subsidiary to Tamil	·859														
As Subsidiary to Malayalam	·019														

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION SPEAKING — GUJARATI

STATE	Bhavnagar	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
As Subsidiary to Telugu	·019															
As Subsidiary to Karnataki	·019															
As Subsidiary to Arabic	3·1															
As Subsidiary to Portuguese	·17															
As Subsidiary to English	·859															
As mother tongue	49·09															
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	6·5															
As Subsidiary to Hindi	·13															
As Subsidiary to Hindustani	·09															
As Subsidiary to Punjabi	·17															
As Subsidiary to Kachchhi	·059															
As Subsidiary to Marathi	·039															
As Subsidiary to Konkani	·039															
As Subsidiary to Pashto	·019															
As Subsidiary to Arabic	·039															

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION SPEAKING — KACHCHHI

STATE	Bhavnagar	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
As mother tongue	3·03															
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	4·03															
As mother tongue	9·27															
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	2·8															
As mother tongue	5·99															
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	·87															
As Subsidiary to Hindustani	·019															
As Subsidiary to Kanarese	·059															
As mother tongue	4·77															
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	·75															
As Subsidiary to Urdu	·19															
As Subsidiary to Hindustani	·019															
As Subsidiary to Rajasthani	1·05															
As Subsidiary to Marathi	·11															
As Subsidiary to Konkani	·07															

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION SPEAKING — HINDI / HINDUSTANI / RAJASTHANI / ARABIC

STATE	Bhavnagar	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
As Subsidiary to Pashto	·019																
As Subsidiary to Arabic	·11																
As Subsidiary to Portuguese	·019																
As Subsidiary to English	·079																
As Subsidiary to Punjabi	·059																
As mother tongue	5·4																
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	·35																
As Subsidiary to Urdu	1·5																
As Subsidiary to Arabic	·13																
As Subsidiary to English	·55																
As mother tongue	3·8																
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	·059																
As mother tongue	3·8																
As Subsidiary to Gujarati	1·63																
As Subsidiary to Urdu	·079																
As Subsidiary to Kachchhi	·019																

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CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

SECTION I—THE MAIN FIGURES

262. The Basis of the Figures.—The first entry that was to be made in the general schedule about the enumerated person for the purposes of abstraction was in column 4 headed 'Religion and Sect'. The very formal instructions printed on the enumeration book cover for recording the religion were as under :—

"Column 4 (Religion).—Enter here the religion which each person returns, as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Christian, Parsi and the sect where necessary. In the case of aboriginal tribes who are not Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, etc., the name of the tribe should be entered in the column. Sect is in all cases required for Christians."

The Code further instructed the enumerator to distinguish properly between Hinduism on the one hand, and Jainism, Sikhism and Tribal beliefs on the other. Among the Hindus, the Aryas and Brahmos were also to be separately distinguished. The two main sects of Islam, *viz.*, Sunni and Shia were to be separately recorded; so were also to be done the Digamber and Shwetamber sects of Jainism. One notable departure from the past practice was made in the matter of recording tribal religions. Uptil the last Census, when the member of a primitive tribe returned himself as Hindu, discretion was left to the enumerator to ascertain as to whether he was not, as a matter of fact, practising a tribal religion. This time he was merely to accept the answer given by the enumerated.

263. Reference to Statistics.—The main figures of religious distribution are contained in Imperial Table XVI. It is divided into two parts. Part A distributes the figures by Mahal; Part B shows the persons returned under the principal sects of Hinduism, Jainism, and Islam. The statistics by sect have been for the first time compiled at the present Census. The experiment has indeed proved very successful, and the alleged difficulty of recording the sect details which is experienced elsewhere has not come in the way of a truthful record, especially when it is borne in mind that people on this side of the country are used to refer to their sect rather than to their religion, when questioned as to the creed followed by them. State Table II tabulated for the first time combines the statistics of religion with those of literacy for each of the ten Mahals of the State.

264. Religion as a Basis of Statistical Classification.—Apart from the intrinsic interest of the statistics for the different religions as supplied by the two Tables mentioned above where they figure as a main factor, 'religion' is also used as a basis of classification as a cross factor in most of the Imperial Tables. In the words of the Note of the Census Commissioner :—

"The value of this basis of classification has been impugned on the grounds that whatever homogeneity of race, tradition and custom may have been connoted by the term Hindu, Muslim, Christian, etc., in the past has ceased to exist to a sufficient degree to influence the statistics. It is argued that so far as customs of demological importance are concerned, *e.g.*, early marriage, seclusion of women, treatment of children, etc., the divisions of real significance are not vertical sections of society by difference of religion, but horizontal divisions into strata differentiated from one another by social and economic condition."

The validity and utility of classification by religion have been thus more than once questioned, and not without some justification. But the problem of substituting the existing basis of classification by another better and more useful is not at all easy of solution. It is not possible to range the population into different grades of social and economic strata as suggested above. Its differentiation by religions is, however, possessed of some practical value in that a dis-

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tinct social and racial significance attaches to each different system of religion. The adherents of the two main religions, Hinduism and Islam, are governed by two great systems of personal law and usages, the Hindu and Mahomedan Law whose influence on their social actions and economic status is widely divergent. Even in matters political, rightly or wrongly men are used to think in terms of their communities rather than in those of such economic divisions as agriculture or industry, labour or capital. Franchise and representation in political bodies are not always demanded on the ground of a common nationality, and communal considerations rule supreme in the minds of some of the followers of these two religions. In the absence, therefore, of any better alternative basis of statistical classification, the present system cannot be dispensed with without doing away with what little facilities it undoubtedly affords for instituting some very valuable comparisons.

265. What is Religion ?—The term, 'religion' is translated into vernacular as *dharma*[1] which literally interpreted means that which holds or sustains (the world). Religion in its popular sense connotes many things. It stands for a defined system of philosophy, dogmas, rituals and ethics. By his *dharma* a person generally understands that particular outlook upon the world and conception of the supernatural which the family and caste in which he comes to be born usually holds. The religion of a person is a matter of his temperament and taste, and therefore, varies with the frame of mind of each particular individual. It is not this personal aspect of religious belief with which the Census records are mainly concerned, but it is the religion in its communal aspect which broadly differentiates one section of society from another, that is to be entered in the schedule. Thus the entry was made only as to whether the enumerated person was a Hindu, Muslim, Jain, Parsi, Christian, etc., without taking any notice of his personal leanings.

266. The Main Figures.—The principal figures of religious distribution are compared in the margin for the last two Censuses. Hinduism dominates the State and claims 4,33,164 or nearly 87 per cent. of the total population. Islam is credited with 42,746 or 9 per cent., and Jainism with 23,579 or 5 per cent. of the total population. Besides, there are 309 Zoroastrians, 277 Christians, 32 Buddhists and only 2 Jews. Tribal faith claims 66 Adodias, a wandering tribe enumerated in the jail at Umrala on the night of the Census. There are also 96 Arya Samajists and 3 Atheists. The proportional distribution of the population by the main religions in the ten thousand works out to be 8,659 Hindus, 854 Musalmans, 471 Jains, 6 Parsis, 6 Christians and 4 miscellaneous.

Religion	Number in		Proportion per 10,000 in	
	1921	1931	1921	1931
INDO ARYAN				
Hindu ...	3,68,947	4,33,164	8,652·5	8,659·0
Jain ...	20,017	23,579	469·4	471·0
Hindu Arya ...	26	96	·6	1·9
Hindu Brahmo ...	2	...	...	...
Buddhist ...	...	32	...	·6
PRIMITIVE				
Tribal ...	...	66	...	1·3
ERANIAN				
Zoroastrian ...	273	309	6·4	6·2
SEMITIC				
Muslim ...	36,962	42,746	867·0	854·0
Christian ...	163	277	3·8	6·0
Jew ...	14	2	·3	...
INDEFINITE BELIEF				
Atheist ...	...	3	...	...

SECTION II—WHAT IS HINDUISM ?

267. Hinduism.—In the past much ink has been spilt over the question: what is Hinduism and who is a Hindu? But the ignorance of the true conception of Hinduism is, in the main, responsible for many an unsatisfactory explanation offerred of it. Leaving out of account the general distinction of doubtful utility between Hinduism and Tribal faiths on the one hand, and still less useful

1. *Dharayati iti dharmah.*

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but clearer distinction between Hinduism and Jainism on the other, the term Hindu is as clear in its meaning as Muslim, Christian or Parsi. The possibility of a mistake about his religion when a person returns himself Hindu should, therefore, be over-ruled. Hinduism, it must, however, be noted is not only a religion, but it is both '*religion and ethics*' combined. It governs not only his actions as an individual, but also his duties and responsibilities as a member of society. On the individual side it aims at raising him above the lower self and making him one with the Infinite. On the social side, it tries to secure to him the greatest possible happiness compatible with the healthy progress of society. This latter aspect is responsible for the development of that ancient socio-religious institution, the caste system, with the division of society into higher and lower strata according to the stages of mental development of the individual. The original religion of the Vedas, though essentially monotheistic, thus offered ample scope for the inclusion within its fold of all the intermediate forms of worship corresponding with the stages of mental development of the people, and ranging between the highly philosophical concept of the Universe as a mainfestation of God, the Ultimate Cause, and the most rudimentary forms of animistic worship. The Aryan thinkers of yore were not merely philosophers, but also great students of sociological sciences. With their characteristic insight, they saw the distance that inevitably exists between the highest spiritual goal and the lower animal instinct that possesses the human mind. They also saw that man is by nature anthropomorphic and is prone to ascribe human form, passions and affections to God. So far from forcing the highest truth that they had perceived upon the alien and primitive races with whom they came into contact, they expanded the scope of religion with the toleration characteristic of these great thinkers to such a wide extent as to absorb all the prevailing forms of worship within the limits of Hinduism. They did not mind the method, so long as its final object was to realise the existence of that Great Power which guides and controls human destiny. The deities of the aboriginals thus found a place in the Hindu Pantheon, and were treated as subordinate to the only God that exists. The great stress laid upon the culture and discipline of the individual gave birth to that great social system, the caste, which is the life blood of Hinduism. In the social scheme as originally propounded every person had his appointed duties and corresponding privileges. As Prof. Radhakrishnan observes :—

"The *varnashrama dharma* or the discipline of the classes and stages of life is the Hindu's device for the gradual improvement of human nature."[1]

Hinduism is thus more a culture than a creed. Before the Mahomedan conquest it was a process of absorption and assimilation, within whose fold merged all the alien races that poured from the North. It was thus a cultural conquest rather than territorial expansion which was the main object of Hinduism. It was only during the Musalman rule that it became a sort of close corporation. It was the instinct of preservation that seized the Hindu mind of the time that crystallised the caste into its present form of water-tight compartments. The synthetic nature of Hinduism is described thus by the learned Professor :—

"With the openness of mind characteristic of the philosophical temper, the Hindus believe in the relativity of the creed to the general character of the people who profess them. Religion is not a mere theory of the supernatural which we can put on or off as we please. It is an expression of the spiritual experience of the race, a record of its social evolution, an integral element of the society in which it is found. That different people should profess different faiths is not unnatural."[2]

And so, "accepting all the forms of worship that prevailed in the country, the Hindu thinkers arranged them in a scale leading to the highest form of divine worship, which is the practice of the presence of God."[3]

Hinduism, thus defined, has room within its boundaries not only for the highest form of theism and most advanced philosophical doctrines, but also for

1. *The Heart of Hindusthan*, p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 12.

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the intermediate forms of worship which vary with the various stages of development of the human mind. Idol worship and deification of the natural powers and objects are thus not incompatible with the principle of one God who is the Ultimate Cause of the Universe. The absence of any powerful central spiritual authority as in the case of Christianity and the elastic nature of Hinduism should be held responsible for the appearance of the various Vaishnavite, Shaivite, and *guru* worshipping cults as also for the inclusion in it of the religious beliefs of the aboriginal tribes which gradually came to be incorporated into the Hindu social organization.

268. Hinduism and the Depressed Classes.—An attempt is sometimes made to exclude some of the backward tribes as also the depressed classes like the untouchables or the *antyajas* from the Hinduistic fold. But this does not represent the correct position. As for the former, it may be stated that though the Mahomedan invasions were instrumental in preventing some of the primitive tribes from being included within the pale of Hinduism, the synthetic spirit which is the fundamental characteristic of the whole process of Hinduisation was at work and is still bringing some of these tribes within its boundaries. As for the latter, temple entry is suggested as one of the tests of Hinduism. The depressed classes who are denied the social privileges of Hinduism and excluded from its religious exercises, are nonetheless Hindus. They also regard themselves as such. Even the caste Hindus do not grudge them the privilege of their being styled Hindus, though it must be admitted that some of the orthodox sections of the Twiceborn classes are still unwilling to make this concession. Though the *antyajas* are debarred from entering the precincts of temples, they adore and worship the gods installed therein. The Vaishnavite sect of Swaminarayan counts amongst its followers the members of the depressed castes also and necessary facilities are given to them for *darshan*, that is to say, for having a sight of the deity from a distance. Special temples dedicated to Rama and Krishna, the principal Hindu Gods, are erected for the use of the untouchables. Forcible entry into Hindu temples or temple *satyagraha* is practised in some parts of the country. The more enlightened sections of Hindu society have now seen through the injustice to which the *antyajas* have been subjected for ages, and realised the necessity of removing the disability under which they labour.[1] They are, therefore, as much Hindus as any other member of the higher castes who would refuse them entry to the temple. Though labelled untouchables, the depressed classes have been completely *touched* by the civilizing influence of Hinduism. They have accepted the Hindu Code as their own, and have fully partaken of the social customs of the caste Hindus. They are, therefore, untouchables only so far as the physical contact is concerned but not as regards the higher social and religious contact. It will not be at all found difficult to understand this when the essential character of the religion of the Hindus is borne into mind. Briefly considered, Hinduism is not analytic but synthetic. It is a process of assimilation rather than that of disintegration. Though it aims at making prophets of men and saints of sinners, it recognises the distance that separates the weak and undeveloped human mind from the ideal and has with characteristic foresight provided room for all the forms of worship the highest and most abstract philosophic wisdom as well as symbolic worship which help the spirit in its quest after the Divine. The system of culture and discipline which it developed was designed to train the individual for the achievement of the final goal by the practice of a rule of conduct suited to the stage which his life had reached. It will, therefore, be sheer injustice to treat Hinduism merely as a creed with 'no one distinguishing central concept,' which is not infrequently the case. Much of the misunderstanding that prevails as regards the meaning of 'Hinduism' will be removed, if it be viewed in its true perspective, and not from a narrow lens light.

[1] "The following manifesto was signed by over a thousand Hindus in Bombay :—

We the undersigned Hindus solemnly appeal to the custodians, guardians and other persons in charge of Public Temples to throw open the doors of Public Temples to all Hindus irrespective of their caste or section.

We feel sincerely that the time for the measure is overdue and it is in the best interests of Hinduism and Hindu Society to do this justice to our brethren of the depressed classes."

Vide *Indian Social Reformer*, XLII, 38, p. 599.

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269. Tribal Religions.—While referring to the instructions to the enumerators, it was pointed out that the name of the tribe was to be entered in the column of religion for those aboriginal tribes which did not not profess any of the recognised religions, *viz.*, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Christianity or Zoroastrianism, etc. The civilizing influence of Hinduism has long before accomplished its task in this State, and left no tribe outside the pale of Hinduism. Such tribes as the Kathis, Vaghris and Kolis have already secured a place in the Hindu social organization, their rudimentary forms of worship and animistic deities which are generally powers and objects of Nature, having already secured a subordinate position in the Hindu Pantheon. Even as far back as the 1901 Census whose figures will be considered later, no person has been returned as professing any of the tribal religions. Up till 1921, the tribal statistics were returned under the name 'animist'. But the then Census Commissioner, Mr. Marten, seeing that "the term Animism does not represent the communal distinction which is the essence of the Census aspect of religion and that, as a description of a definite religious category distinct from other religions returned, it is distinctly misleading both in its contact and its extent",[1] changed the heading of this category to 'Tribal Religions'. The change has been recognised and adopted at the present Census by substituting the heading 'Animist' by 'Tribal'.

The current Census shows 66 persons (18 males and 48 females) whose tribal name was returned in column 4 for religion. They were the Adodias enumerated in the jail of Umrala referred to before. They are essentially animistic and lead a sort of Bohemian life, and earn their livelihood by harassing the poor cultivators and robbing them of their crops and stealing their cattle.[2] They are highly superstitious and worship *Bhensasur*, the demon buffalo-god and such articles as trident, cocoa-nut, and *couries*. They have been, therefore, properly classed as tribal.

Section III—Distribution and Variation

The following Subsidiary Table and diagram which show the general distribution of the population by the main religions returned in the State will be helpful in understanding the variation that has taken place in their ranks from time to time.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

General Distribution of the Population by Religion

RELIGION	Actual Number in 1931	Proportion per 1,000 of population in				Variation per cent. Increase (+) Decrease (—)			Net Variation
		1931	1921	1911	1901	1921–31	1911–21	1901–11	1901–31
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindu... ...	4,33,260	8,660	8,653·2	8,602·9	8,502·9	+17·4	—2·8	+8·2	+ 23·4
Muslim ...	42,746	855	866·8	929	976·8	+15·6	—9·8	+1·6	+ 6·0
Jain	23,579	471	469·5	454	503·1	+17·7	—0·2	—3·4	+ 13·8
Zoroastrian ...	309	6	6·4	9	10·2	+13·1	—28·3	— 9·0	— 26·2
Christian ...	277	6	3·8	5	6·9	+69·9	—26·2	—19·0	+ 1·4

1. *India Census Report*, 1921, p, 111.
2. For details, *vide Appendix VI.*

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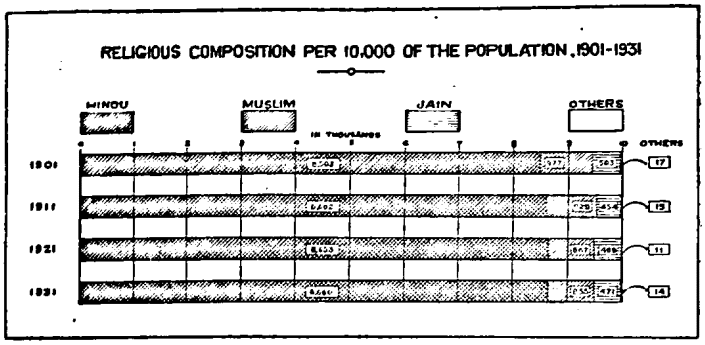

270. Variation amongst Hindus.—The present Hindu population of the State including 96 Arya Samajists numbers 4,33,260 of which 2,22,813 are males and 2,10,447 females. Their percentage (17) of increase during the past decennuim is just the same as that of the general population, as they form the bulk for the population, every ten thousand of the latter being composed of 8,660 Hindus. During the last thirty years their proportionate strength has increased by 157 persons in every 10,000 of the total population. From 8,503 in 1901 it rose to 8,602 in 1911, and from the latter figures to 8,653 in 1921, despite a fall of nearly 3 per cent. in their numbers during 1911–21 due to deaths from influenza. The net gain during the last three decades amounts to 82,278 or 23 per cent.

271. Arya Samaj.—The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a Brahman named Mulshanser born in a village named Tankara in the State of Morvi in Kathiawar. It aimed at introducing reforms of a far reaching character by pruning Hinduism of some of its later outgrowths. "The Samaj took its stand upon the Vedas which are God's eternal utterance, and preached the existence of only one God, and vehemently condemned the worship of idols. The distinction of caste among the members of the Samaj was abolished, though some of them still retain it. Child marriage was prohibited and remarriage of widows allowed. Thus the primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind."[1] The social brotherhood which the Arya Samajists intend to bring about by abolishing all distinctions of caste has found little favour with the orthodox Hindus. Though it wields considerable influence in Northern India and the U.P., the following of the Samaj is very small on this side of the country. Another reason which has contributed to its unpopularity is the banning of idolatry. It can, therefore, be a religion only of the intellectual classes, but not of the masses whose low stage of mental development cannot easily dispense with the worship of the image. Among some of the later day activities of the Samaj should be noted the two movements started by Swami Shraddhanand, *viz.*, *shuddhi* and *Sangathan*. While the former aims at adding new converts and reclaiming those Hindus converted to Islam or Christianity by the propagandist activities of its missionaries, the latter has for its object the unification of the whole of the Hindu population under one common banner. This apparently aggressive nature of Hinduism is in reality a measure of self-defence called forth by some of the provocative converting activities of Islam. The number of Aryas in the State has risen from 26 in 1921 to 96 in 1931. Of the latter, as many as 74 belong to the City alone, testifying to the urban character of the sect which is not at all in the good books of the rural and conservative strata of the Hindu society.

1. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 120.

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272. Islam.—The religion started by the Prophet Mahomed can be very easily distinguished from Hinduism, except in the case of a few belonging to the borderland sects like the *Nakalanka Panth* and *Pirana Panth*. Even the followers of the Vaishnavite sect of Swaminarayana, as will be seen further, claims some Khoja families among its followers. But for these minor exceptions, Islam has well-defined and clear cut doctrines and tenets, with a central concept and a central figure. The main distinguishing features of these two great religions are very aptly summarised by Prof. Gilchrist as follows:—

> "Mohammedanism is a fiery faith, intensely missionary; Hinduism is a philosophy of compromise, with an essentially close social system. Moslemism is monotheistic; Hinduism polytheistic and pantheistic. The political basis of Mohammedanism is the Koran, the law of the Prophet, demanding an extra-territorial allegiance to the Khalif. Hinduism is non-political, it is social, based on the caste system, and centred in the supremacy of the Brahmins."[1]

And so barring the followers of the sects on the borderland of Hinduism and Islam resulting from the contact of the two, especially among the people of the lower classes, the Musalman returns presented little difficulty. The Hindu Pirana Panthis in the State are mostly the Anjaria Kachhias. As their religion does not come in the way of their social practices and as their social connections continue with the other members of their caste who are Hindus, they have been rightly included amongst the Hindus. Similarly those Khojas who belong to the Swaminarayan sect are included amongst the Muslims, as their social connections continue with those who profess Islam. Whatever be the basis of classification—caste or religious belief—adopted for grouping the followers of these borderland sects, the religious returns suffer but little owing to the comparatively very small number of such persons. The total number of Priana Panthis is 511, of which as many as 510 are shown to be Hindus. 32,202 persons returned as professing the Swaminarayan sect include 38 Khojas. There is, therefore, no material influence upon the figures, if these be classed either according to the caste to which they belong, or according to the religion they profess. Again their religion which is a resultant of the two faiths partakes of the qualities of both of them. And as social organization governs the mode of life of the people to a very great extent, they should be properly taken over to that religion with whose adherents they live and intermarry. It has, therefore, been thought proper to class the Swaminarayan Khojas with the Musalmans, and the Hindu Piranas with the Hindus.

The Muslims in the State number 42,746 and have increased by 5,784 or 16 per cent. during the last ten years. But their proportionate strength in the general population seems to have suffered a steady decline. From 977 persons to the ten thousand, their numbers have fallen off to 929, 867 and 855 respectively in 1911, 1921 and 1931. While during 1901-11 they increased by only 2 per cent., during 1911-21 they fell off by 10 per cent. The increase during the past decennium is, as noticed above, indeed substantial, and compares favourably with a net increase of only 6 per cent. during the last thirty years. The relatively smaller gains and greater losses than those of the Hindus result from the mobile and enterprising character of the followers of Islam who readily move out for business and trade. The Vohoras, Khojas and Memons send a fairly large contingent of their caste brethren to commercial centres in British India. The distribution of the Muslim population during the last three decades considered before conclusively proves the complete absence in this State of any fresh conversions to Islam.

273. Jainism.—Like Buddhism, Jainism is an offshoot from Hinduism. It owes its separate existence to the reaction against Brahman ascendency and animal sacrifices. *Ahimsa* or non-violence, is, therefore, its guiding principle. The significance and the meaning attached to the term 'Hindu' have been considered before. Hinduism has been seen to possess two aspects, *viz.*, individual and social. Jainism rejected the Vedas and evolved a system of philosophy and religious belief quite distinct from that of Hinduism. But the mythology and

1. R. N. Gilchrist, *Indian Nationality*, p. 91.

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some of the deities of the Hindu religion appear to be bodily imported into Jainism, the difference being in the new garb in which they are dressed. While thus separating from Hinduism, Jainism retained the social organization of the Hindus, *viz.*, the caste system, which is one of the two aspects of that religion. The caste is as much a recognised feature of the Jain community, as that of the Hindu. The members of one and the same caste may be both Jains and non-Jains whose social life is regulated by the same set of customs and usages. A Jain would marry in his own caste irrespective of the creed of the other party, but a marriage with another Jain who does not belong to his caste is totally impossible. This semi-Hinduistic nature of the followers of Jainism inasmuch as they have continued to be governed by the disciplinary part of Hinduism, *viz.*, the caste is responsible for the belief that is not infrequently entertained even by some of the Jains themselves that they are also Hindus. The Jains have retained the social aspect of Hinduism, and hence the popular notion that Jains are Hindus. But so far as religious convictions are concerned, no Jain in the State is under any apprehension as regards his belonging to Jainism. Political motive which induced some of the Jains to return themselves Hindus was recognised by the Census Code which instructed the enumerators to add the word Hindu to the religion and sect of those Jains who desired to return themselves Hindus. Shwetamber, Digamber and Sthanakvasi, the principal Jain sects, were also to be mentioned specifically. The total number of Jains returned in the State is 23,579. During the past decade they have increased by 17·7 per cent. The followers of Jainism whose proportion per 10,000 of the population was 503 in 1901 declined to 454 in 1911, the percentage of decrease recorded at the Census being 3 per cent. The decrease in their numbers at the latter Census which was a Census of increase seems to have resulted from the migratory tendency of the able-bodied Jains, already noticed before. Though they still fall short of their 1901 proportion by 32, during the last twenty years they have added 17 persons to their proportion in 1911. From 454 in that year they have gone up to 469 in 1921, and to 471 in 1931.

274. Buddhism.—Buddhism is not an indigenous religion of the State and is represented by only 32 persons.

275. Zoroastrianism.—The followers of Zoroaster account for 309 persons. The Parsis are mostly a migrant community, though some of them have permanently settled in the State and made it their native place. Their proportion per 10 mille of the total population which was 10 in 1901 has continually fallen off and come down to 6 at the present Census. The two decades that passed between 1901-21 registered decreases of 9 and 28 per cent. respectively in the Parsi population of the State. But the present Census records an increase of 13 per cent. in their numbers as returned in 1921. The decreases at the Censuses of 1911 and 1921 might have been induced by the return home of some of those Parsis whose native place was not Bhavnagar.

276. Christianity.—Of the 277 persons returned as professing Christianity, 160 are males and 117 females. They have increased by 70 per cent. during the last ten years which have added 114 souls to their numbers (163) in 1921. Their proportionate strength which is 6 in every ten thousand of the present population was 6·9 in 1901 from which it declined to 5 in 1911 and to 4 in 1921. The Christians in the State are comprised of Europeans and Indian Christians, the majority of the latter being the local converts recruited from the lower strata of the Hindu Society. The increase recorded at the present Census is partly natural and is partly due to immigration and conversion. The quota of conversion is almost negligible, as the proselytizing activities of Christianity like those of Islam have touched only the fringe of Hinduism. The causes that induce conversion are in both the cases very nearly the same, except that the Christian missionaries have added facilities for appealing to the finer senses of the people in the educative work they do through the schools they open in rural areas. The occasions for abandoning the ancestral faith on the part of the backward and depressed sec-

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tions amongst the Hindus arise only in those rare cases where they feel oppressed by economic distress and a sense of social inferiority. The democratic nature of these two religions and the consequent equality of social status enjoyed by their followers offer substantial attraction for conversion to some of the harassed of the depressed and backward classes. For, the touch of Islam or Christianity raises them higher in the social scale and the spectre of untouchability and the sense of social inferiority born of it, no longer haunt them. Those who would have erstwhile looked upon them with contempt and abhorrence, would have no compunction in freely mixing with them after they have embraced the faiths either of Mahomed or Jesus. The few cases that, however, occur serve to illustrate the decaying nature of the present day Hinduism whose degeneration has been instrumental by the force of historical circumstances in bringing about on its outskirts a class of people who would have been otherwise absorbed within its social organization. But the majority of the untouchables view their present position as a divine dispensation, which it is sinful for any human being to interfere with. They feel quite content with their lot, which they regard as a result of *karma*, the actions of their past birth.

277. Judaism.—Judaism is represented in the State by two males as against 14 persons returned in 1921.

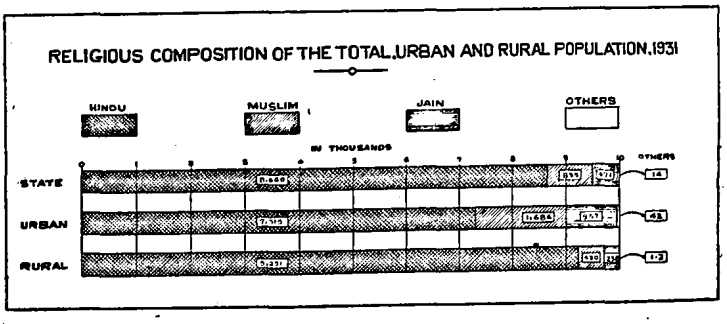
278. Indefinite Beliefs.—Under 'others' are included 3 males who have returned themselves atheists. While two of them are students studying in the Samaldas College at the City of Bhavnagar, the third belongs to the Mahal of Sihor.

279. Religious Composition of the Urban and Rural Population.—The Subsidiary Table and diagram given below illustrate the religions of the urban and rural population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

Religions of Urban and Rural Population

State	Number per 10,000 of Urban Population who are						Number per 10,000 of Rural Population who are					
	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian	Others	Hindu	Muslim	Jain	Zoroastrian	Christian	Others
Bhavnagar	7,315	1,686	957	20	17	5	9,250·9	489·5	258·3	·1	·3	·9



The three bars given in the diagram testify to the varied nature of the distribution of the total, urban and rural population of the State. As has been

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seen before in Chapter II, the proportions of the different religions are not the same in all the three cases. The difference is due to the variation in the percentage of the followers of each religion that live in town and country. The proportionate strength of the Hindus is the highest in all the cases as it is a majority community and forms 87 per cent. of the general population. While the urban proportions for all the remaining religions show considerable increases, that of the Hindu appreciably lowers down from 9,251 in the rural to 7,315 in the urban population. While in the rural population 92 per cent. are Hindus, 5 per cent. Muslims, and 2·5 per cent. Jains, the similar figures for the urban population are 73, 17 and 9·5 respectively. The increase in the proportionate strength of the followers of Islam, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity results from their being minority communities whose members live more in town than in country.

Section IV—Sects

280. Sect Returns.—According to the Census Code only the Arya Samajists and Brahmos, the principal Musalman and Jain sects, *viz.*, (*i*) Shia and Sunni, and (*ii*) Shwetamber and Digamber respectively, and all the Christian sects were to be recorded in the schedules. In the case of Hindus, owing to the difficulty of distinguishing and recording separately all its numerous sects, sects were not to be mentioned. But in the State, opportunity was taken to return the sects of Hindus also. This did not present any difficulty, as the religious sects are known to the people fairly accurately. Because a man in the street is used to refer to his sect rather than to one of the principal religious beliefs, when asked about his *dharma*, he will not introduce himself as a Hindu but as a Vaishnava or a Shaiva or as a beliver in this or that Mata whom he worships. The sect returns are, therefore, fairly truthful and can serve the purpose of knowing both the various religious sects that obtain in the State, as also the following claimed by each of them. These returns have been compiled in Imperial Table XVI Part B, and given in the Tables Volume. The different sects returned have been classified according to the classification adopted by Mr. Mukerjea in the Baroda State Census Report. Not only the Hindu but various Jain and Musalman sects returned by the Census have been separately tabulated and shown in the Table.

281. Classification of Hindu Sects.—The margin shows the various heads under which the sects of the Hindus are grouped. The present strength of each class and their proportion per mille of the total Hindus are also given. The six groups under which they are classed are (*i*) orthodox sects based on Vedic and Puranic Hinduism, (*ii*) movements checked by the defence of old faiths, (*iii*) Guru worshipping cults, (*iv*) movements of comprehensive reform, (*v*) sects tending towards tribal religion and (*vi*) sects on the borderland of Hinduism and Islam. The orthodox sects which include the Shaiva and Shakta sects and the various Vaishnavite sects number 3,55,812, as they draw their inspiration from the ancient text-books, the Vedas and the Puranas, and worship the deities extolled by them. Next in order of strength are the sects of tribal religions which account for 43,167 followers, and claim nearly 10 per cent. of the total Hindus. But while the sects like Kabir Panth, Pranami Panth and the Margis whose growth was checked by the defence of old faiths claim 23,410 or 5 per cent. of the Hindus, the various *guru* worshipping cults whose centre of attraction is the outstanding personality of the *guru* appropriate 10,256 or 2 per cent. The borderland sects and the reforming current of Arya

Classes of Hindu Sects	Strength in 1931	Proportion per mille of total Hindus
HINDUS (including Brahmos and Aryas) ...	4,33,260	1,000
Orthodox sects based on Vedic and Puranic Hinduism ...	3,55,812	821
Movements checked by defence of old faiths ...	23,410	54
Guru worshipping cults ...	10,256	24
Movements of comprehensive reform...	96	·2
sects tending towards Tribal Religion	43,167	99·6
Sects on the Borderland of Hinduism and Islam ...	519	1·2

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Samaj are represented by only 519 and 96 persons respectively. While the orthodox nature of the religion of the Hindus is borne in mind, the higher proportionate strength of the Vaishnavite and Shaiva sects and the smaller numbers of the remaining sects are easily explained. The second position secured by the sects tending towards tribal religions is due to the elastic nature of Hinduism which has absorbed within its fold the tribes on its outskirts by giving a subordinate position to their deities in the Hindu Pantheon. The very conservative character of Hinduism is on the other hand responsible for the smaller numbers that are attracted by the new religious movements which have for their object the purification of the old faiths. The following claimed by the *guru* worshipping cults is limited by the capacity of personal magnetism of the saints who propound them. That the movements which advocate revolutionary changes in the prevailing religious beliefs of the people have very little chances of success in the near future will be seen from the fact that the Arya Samajists form only 0·2 per mille of the total Hindu population. The borderland sects which try to bring about fusion of two antagonistic faiths, Hinduism and Islam, cannot hope to make any headway among peoples whose lives have for long been guided by different sects of religious and social principles. No wonder then that the total following claimed by these sects is only 1·2 per mille of the total Hindus of the State.

282. Orthodox Sects: Shaiva and Vaishnava.—Of the 3,55,812 belonging to the orthodox sects, 62,185 are Shaivas, 85 Shaktas and 2,93,341 Vaishnavas belonging to various denominations. The Shaivas are the worshippers of God Shiva, the Mahadev or the Supreme Lord who represents two aspects of the world, *viz.*, the terrible and destructive as represented by Rudra, and the auspicious as represented by Shiva. Later on when Shankaracharya, the great exponent of monotheistic or *adwaita* philosophy of the Vedanta, remodelled Hinduism, he introduced some changes into the worship of Shiva according to Smriti. The Shaivas thus came to be known also as Smartas. The Shaktas on the other hand are the worshippers of Shakti (energy), the creative power of the Universe. Prominence was given to the worship of female principle in the sixth century A.D. owing to the teachings of the Sankhya or dualistic philosophy which preached the separate existence of both the male and female principles, Purusha and Prakriti. The religion of the Shaktas is thus a counterpart of Shiva worship in which the male principle receives prominence. The number (85) of the Shaktas in the State is insignificant.

283. Vaishnava Sects.—All the Vaishnava sects shown in the margin claim between them 2,93,341 souls. Of these as many as 2,37,074 or 80·8 per cent. are the adherents of the Vallabhachari sect which is the principal Vaishnava sect in the State. It inculcates the worship of Bal Gopal, the young Krishna. The Bhakti marga and philosophy which it preached made greater appeal to the imagination of the average mind than the monotheistic philosophy and intellectual subtleties of Shankara. But the Swaminarayan sect whose following numbers 32,202 introduced an element of reform in the body of Vaishnavism. The original founder of this sect was Sahajanand, a Brahman of Chhapaia in Rohilkhand. The sect founded by him seems to be a purified form of Vaishnavism. He adopted the Vishistadwaita philosophy of Ramanujacharya, but laid great stress upon the moral discipline of his followers. *Shikshapatri* or the Manual of Instructions and moral precepts written by him lays down the *dharma* of all the different sections amongst his followers including the laity and monks of both the sexes. But the most relieving feature of the sect lies in the acceptance within its fold of those lower strata of society which the Vallabhacharis rejected. The Swaminarayan sect makes no distinction of caste or creed and counts amongst its followers persons of such castes as the Mochis, Hajams and even the Dheds. Some Musalman Khoja families are also among its followers, 38 Khojas having been returned as devoted to-

Principal Vaishnava Sects	Persons
Total	2,93,341
Ramanandi ...	8,387
Ramanuji ...	15,678
Swaminarayan ...	32,202
Vallabhachari ...	2,37,074

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this sect in the State. But this did not prevent the members of the higher castes from becoming the devotees of Sahajanand. The moral superiority of his religion and the excellence of his monastic organization attracted both the Vaishnavas and Shaivas of the Twiceborn castes as members of his spiritual and temporal orders. In Kathiawar, the magnetic personality and religious preachings of the Swami subjugated the wild spririt of outlawry amongst the fighting clan of the Kathis by bringing them under the civilizing influence of Hinduism. The town of Gadhada, one of the three seats of this sect, is located in this State and was the scene of his later day activities. Of the remaining Vaishnava sects, while the Ramanujis number 15,678, the Ramanandis account for 8,387 persons.

284. Sectarian Movements checked by the Defence of Old Faiths.—The persons returned under this head number 23,410. Of these, as many as 22,395 have returned themselves Margi. These are the right-handed Margis as opposed to the Vam Margis or left-handed Margis who number 18. Moto Panth which claims 21 followers is regarded the same as Margi or Biji Panthi. The Pranami Panth founded by Prananathji, a contemporary of Allaudin Khilji born at Jamnagar is returned by 202 of whom 190 are to be founded in the Mahal of Kundla. The Pranamis are so styled as they bow to each other, *i.e.*, offer *pranamas* or salutation whenever they meet.

Sectarian Movements checked by defence of old faiths	Persons
Total	**23,410**
Kabir Panth ...	744
Margi	22,395
Moto Panth ...	21
Pranami	202
Vam Margi ...	18

285. Guru Worshipping Cults.—The *guru* worshipping cults returned in the State are shown below. They usually centre round the personality of the *guru* who happens to be some saint or religious teacher. Their teachings differ but little from those of orthodox Hinduism, but they owe their separate existence to the inherent Hindu characteristic of hero-worship which idolises the *guru* into God. The reason of the growth of these cults lies in the degeneration of the orthodox Shaiva and Vaishnava sects, the successors of whose original founders have ceased to look after the moral and spiritual advancement of their followers. Their personality and character are no longer such as command the reverence and devotion of the latter who are ill-suited to assist them in their quest after the Unknown. People, therefore, readily hear and follow a *guru* the force of whose moral character and life of piety greatly appeal to their mind. They regard him as the living personification of the ideals he preaches them. The major portion of the following comes from the lower classes to whom the less sophisticated teachings of these saints make a greater appeal. Of all the *guru* worshipping cults noted in the margin, that founded by Ram De Pir is credited with the largest number of following, and accounts for 2,909 persons. They are to be found chiefly in the Mahals of Daskroi and Victor whose respective quotas are 959 and 838. Ram De, the orginal founder of this sect, was born to Minal De, the wife of Ajmal, a chieftain of Ranuja in Marwar. His devotees consider him the last incarnation of God named Kalki. Of the remaining, cults with any considerable number of following are Palan with 2,491, Ravi Panth with 1,603, Apa Visaman with 1,392 and Pat Panth with 1,247.

Guru worshipping cults	Persons
Total	**10,256**
Apa Visaman ...	1,392
Kuber Panth ...	2
Madhavanandi ...	85
Palan	2,491
Paliad Panth ...	376
Pat Panth	1,247
Ramde Pir ...	2,909
Ravi Panth ...	1,603
Santram... ...	118
Unad Bhagat ...	33

286. Sects Tending towards Tribal Religion.—When the aboriginal tribes were accepted within the Hinduistic fold, they brought their primitive forms of worship with them, the objects of their worship having also found a place in Hindu pantheism. For, the Aryans did not force their religion upon the tribes, but accepted all the forms of worship prevailing in the country as they thought

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them to be necessary to the stage of mental development attained by them, and arranged them in a scale leading to the highest form of divine worship. Apart from the objects and forces of Nature, the aborigines worship the female principle represented by their favourite Mata deities, *viz.*, the Khodiar Mata, Meldi, Kalka, Ruvapari, etc. This Mata worship is responsible for the return of 39,621 Devi Bhaktas out of a total number of 43,167 persons who profess to follow the sects bearing the traces of tribal religions. The Thakor Panth claims 2,637 persons. Of the remaining, 550 belong to the Vadwala Panth, and are to be chiefly found in the Mahal of Botad. The followers of this sect are drawn from the Rabaris of the State and are also called Dudhrejias as its originator belonged to the village of Dudhrej in Jhalawar. As the first *guru*, Sastam Swami, was a Rabari by caste, his successors are also selected from that caste alone. While the Khijadia Panth is represented by 222 devotees, the rest comprising Ajepal, Vadi Panth and Vela Panth claim between them only 137 persons.

287. Borderland Sects.—The intercourse of Hindus with Musalmans was bound to influence one another by bringing about a fusion between the social and religious practices of these two great races. The social influence of Hinduism made itself manifest in the emergence of caste among the Muslims and the adoption by them of such customs as enforced widowhood and early marriages. On the religious side the effects of their contact are visible in the attempts that were once made by the great Mughal Emperor, Akbar, to evolve a common religion combining the philosophies and religious practices of both the faiths. Kabir's followers were both Hindus and Mahomedans. The religious influence of Islam is seen in the worship of the Musalman Pirs and *tajias* by the Hindus. The two sects started by Musalman saints and which claim allegiance from the Hindus are the Nakalanki and Pirana Panth. The former claims only 8 persons, but the latter is returned by 511, of whom 294 were enumerated in Daskroi and 216 in Victor. The followers of this sect are the Anjaria Kachhias of the State. The devotees are styled Pirana, as they worship the Pir, Hazrat Imamshah, its founder who was the grandson of Sadruddin, an Agakhani missionary, as also from Pirana, a village near Ahmedabad which is the religious seat of the sect.

288. Muslim Sects.—The Muslim sects returned in the State are shown in the margin. The sects enumerated in addition to the two principal sects, *viz.*, Shia and Sunni, are Agakhani, Mota Pir, Isnasari, Pir Muradi, and Ahmedi. The religion of Mahomed has shown little capacity for division into different sects owing to its democratic character and monotheistic philosophy. Out of 42,746 that profess Islam, the Sunni sect is the most numerous and is represented by as many as 31,475 or 74 per cent., the number that belong to the Shia sect being 10,067. The remaining sects mentioned before claim between them the rest of the 304 Muslims, of which 252 are Agakhanis. While the Agakhani and Isnasari are the sub-sects of Shiaism, the Pir Muradi, Mota Pir and Ahmedi are the offshoots from Sunnism. The Agakhani sect thrives mainly amongst the Khojas, the rest of the Shias being found among the Vohoras, Moguls and some of the Saiyads. All the remaining Muslim castes are the followers of Sunnism.

Muslim Sects	Persons
Total ...	**42,746**
Sunni ...	31,475
Ahmedi ...	2
Mota Pir ...	41
Pir Muradi ...	3
Shia ...	10,967
Agakhani ...	252
Isnasari ...	6

289. Jain Sects.—The marginal table shows the various sects of Jainism enumerated in the State. The bulk of the Jains belong to the Shwetamber (white-clothed) sect and number 19,122. The Digambers (atmosphere-clad or nude) whose *yatis* or monks go about naked and whose idols are neither dressed nor ornamented number only 627. The Sthanakvasis who are a sub-sect of the Shwetamber are 3,486, and are so called from the variation in the form of worship they have introduced upon that practised by the main sect. Unlike the latter they dispense with idols, and permit the laity to read most of their sacred books which the Shwetamberis do not generally allow.

Jain Sects	Persons
Total ...	**23,579**
Shwetamber ...	19,122
Digamber ...	627
Sthanakvasi ...	3,486
Unspecified ...	344

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290. Christian Sects.—In the margin are disclosed the various sects of Christianity found in the State. Of the total number of 277 Christians returned in the State, the Roman Catholics numbering 129 are in a majority. The local converts to Christianity belong to this sect, but as their actual number must be far smaller than that of the total number of Roman Catholics, it is easily explained that the missionary activities of the messengers of Christ have failed to bear any fruit in this State. Of the remaining, while 92 are Protestants, 30 Presbyterians and 11 belong to the Church of England, 15 have not returned any particular sect.

Christian sects	Persons
Total ...	**277**
Church of England ...	11
Protestant ...	92
Roman Catholic	129
Presbyterian ...	30
Uncertain ...	15

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APPENDIX III

SWAMINARAYAN SECT

1. Introductory.—This Appendix is designed to give a brief account of a comparatively modern Vaishnavite Sect called the Swaminarayan Sect founded during the early decades of the last century by Sahajanand, well known as Swami Narayan who tried to deliver Vaishnavism of those days from some of its corrupting influences. The sect which is named after its founder and possesses a large following drawn from all classes of people irrespective of their original creed, thrives mainly in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, though it also counts among its followers, persons from such distant parts of the country as Karachi, Khandesh, Ayodhya, etc. Even though a century has passed since the Swami passed away from this world, the adherents of his sect have considerably increased in number since his death which occurred on the 28th October 1829 at Gadhada, the head-quarters town of a Mahal of that name in this State. The great reformative influence which he exercised for the purity and chastity of life and the moral and spiritual elevation of his followers was the result of twenty-eight years of incessant work which has drawn unequivocal praise from writers, both Indian and European. An acquaintance of such a sect must, therefore, necessarily be preceded by a short sketch of the life of its founder.

2. Early Life of Sahajanand Swami.—The great Hindu Reformer, Sahajanand Swami, was born at Chhapaia, at a distance of about seven *kos* from Ayodhya in the District of Lucknow on the 10th April 1781 A. D. corresponding to Chaitra Sud 9th of the Samvat Year 1837, the day and the month on which the great epic king and popular deity of the Hindus, Shri Rama, was born at Ayodhya. The original name of the Swami was Harikrishna alias Ghanashyama. From infancy he showed a sort of aversion to leading a worldly life, and evinced great regard for the study of the Shastras and a profound inclination for matters religious. His father's name was Hariprasad Pande, a Sarvaria Brahman by caste, and his mother's name was Premvati. They have been subsequently styled as Dharma Dev and Bhakti respectively. On the death of his parents, when he was aged eleven, the second phase of his life began with his renouncing the world and leaving his house in the garb of an ascetic. For nearly eight years, he wandered over different parts of India, and visited Badrikedar, Benaras, Calcutta, Jagannath Puri, Rameshwar, etc. He passed his time in meditation and practice of severe penance and also learnt *hatha yoga*. At this time he was known as Nilakantha Brahmachari. The pilgrimage or *tirthatan* was over in the year 1800 A. D., when he travelled over to Loj, a village in the territory of the Nawab Saheb of Junagadh. His visit to this place was actuated by his intense desire to have a suitable *guru* who could assist him in knowing the Supreme Being, God Shri Krishna, the Lord of Universe. Swami Ramanand who had his monastery at Loj would, he was told, be the only person who could initiate him in his quest after God Shri Krishna. He thus came to put himself under the protection of that *guru*. By the force of his exemplary character and attainments, and life of intense asceticism he endeared himself to his spiritual guide as also to his disciples. The second phase of his life culminated in his being appointed Acharya or head of his followers by Ramanand Swami before his death in 1801, when Nilkanth Brahmachari was renamed Sahajanand Swami. Swami Narayan thus made Gujarat and Kathiawar the field of his religious reforms which were carried out by him with great vigour and energy.

3. Condition of the Period.—In order to understand and appreciate correctly the life-work of Sahajanand Swami, otherwise known as Shriji Maharaj, it is necessary to know the condition of the period which immediately preceded his rise on the religious horizon of Gujarat. It was a period of transition, politically, socially and morally. The authority of the Peshwas was tottering and the British were extending their territory in Gujarat. The Kolis of Charotar in Gujarat, and the Kathis of Kathiawar saw in the unsettled political condition of the country a great opportunity for going into outlawry and robbery. The person and property of the people were unsafe and insecure. The caste *panch* and *mahajan* had ceased to work for the good of society, whose orthodox and retrograde nature checked all initiative and progress. On the religious side, Vaishnavism of Vallabhacharya which was considered to guard the conscience of most of the Gujarati speaking population had shown some signs of deterioration. Vama Margis, Shaktas, and other sects advocated certain immoral practices which removed the individual from the path of virtue and chastity. Added to these were the general superstitious character of the age and the worship of numerous deities which prepared a suitable ground for the propagation of the religious teachings of Swami Narayan.

4. The Task of Swami Narayan.—After the death of his *guru*, Swami Ramanand, which took place nearly a month after he was proclaimed *acharya* of his disciples, Swami Narayan started on his great career of a spiritual guide and religious reformer. Unlike many that preceded him, the Swami was a practical idealist and not merely a philosopher. He had studied the mistakes of his predecessors and was, therefore, determined to devise such rules and regulations for the conduct of his adherents as would prevent them from falling a prey to them. He realized the need for propaganda and organization, if his sect was to be built upon stable foundations. With this end in view he and his disciples undertook periodical tours in various

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The sanctuary of the Temple at Gadhada with the idols of (i) Sahajanand Swami, (ii) Gopinathji and (iii) Radhikaji

Temple at Gadhada, one of the three principal shrines of the Sect

Sabha-Mandap or the Assembly Hall at Gadhada, where both the *tyagis* and *grihasthis* meet to hear the *katha* or religious discourse

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parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar preaching the tenets of his religion to all the sections of the population. In the magnetic personality of the Swami, 'his remarkable fascination of manners, combined with consistency of moral character and other qualities which singled him out for a leader'[1] coupled with the excellence of his monastic organization lie the key-note of his success and the real cause of a large number of devoted and loving followers who adored and worshipped him as the incarnation of God in his very lifetime. The task of every reformer is beset with obstacles from the forces of orthodoxy which refuse to countenance any power that aims at lowering their dignity and reducing their authority by introducing an element of reform in the exercise of those practices which they have in course of time come to follow. During the infancy of the sect, Swami Narayan had, therefore, to suffer much from hostile quarters whose immoral practices he denounced and was sworn to reform. Though the philosophy and the religious doctrines preached by him were in no way distinct from those preached by Vaishnavite Hinduism of the Ramanuji brand, his criticism of the immoral practices of the day, and advocacy of a life of purity and piety evoked much opposition and jealousy from the Brahmans and the *veragi sadhus* who lost no opportunity of lowering the Swami in public estimation. They ascribed all sorts of vices and misdeeds to Swami Narayan, attributed a low origin as to his caste and carried their vilifying activities to such an extent that the representative of the Peshwas at Ahmedabad threw him into prison, only to release him soon and raise him in popular estimation and favour, which ultimately resulted in the extension of his following. The persecutors did not stop with troubling Sahajanand alone. The *tyagis* who form the ecclesiastical order of the sect consisting of the Brahmacharis, Sadhus and Palas were harassed and beaten at various places. The *gruhasthis* or the householders were ex-communicated by their caste *panch* for worshipping Swami Narayan. But in the midst of all this opposition, harassment and persecution, Sahajanand carried out his holy mission with unique success, which greatly increased the numerical strength of his proselytes. The singularity of devotion of his followers cannot be better described than by the following extract from the pen of the late Right Reverend Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who in his description of his interview with the Maharaj at Nadiad in 1825 A.D. wrote :—

"Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been doubtless far more effective, from the superiority of arms and discipline. But in moral grandeur what a difference there was between his troops and mine ! Mine neither knew me nor cared for me, though they escorted me faithfully. The guards of Swami Narayan were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In my own parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest countrymen who felt something like this for me ; but how long a time must elapse before a Christian Minister in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured ?"[2]

In course of time his fame and the stories of his miracles, which will be referred to later on, spread so far and wide that the Rani Saheb of Dharampur became his disciple and Sayaji Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda, invited him to his court with great pomp and ceremony. Among the distinguished European personalities who sought his interview, should be mentioned Lord Bishop Heber, and Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay. The latter met him at Rajkot and conversed with him for nearly two hours.

5. Life-work of Swami Narayan.—Animal sacrifices were the order of the day when Sahajanand appeared in the rôle of a religious reformer. The ideal of *ahimsa* or non-violence which he preached to his followers found practical expression in the non-animal sacrifices which he himself performed in large numbers. He thus pushed forward a great deal the cause of *ahimsa*. In Kathiawar, especially among the Jadeja Rajputs and those castes which practised hypergamy, female infanticide was greatly practised. He strictly prohibited this custom among his followers. The custom of *sati* was also likewise forbidden. Sahajanand seems to have possessed a peculiar fascination for details. For, he also advised his adherents on such minor points as singing obscene songs at the time of Holi and on marriage occasions, which he reprobated and asked them to sing instead songs of the praise of Krishna and the incidents of his marriage. He preached the futility of black magic, *mantras* and *tantras*, which aimed at securing the fulfilment of one's object by propitiating certain evil spirits. He advised the worship of and faith in one God who was Krishna who alone could deliver the soul from the fetters of the body. But the real value of his work as a reformer lies in his throwing open the portals of his discipleship to all strata of society irrespective of their caste or creed. Hindus and Mahomedans, higher and lower castes can worship God under the spiritual guidance of Swami Narayan. In the State 34 Khoja families have returned themselves as the devotees of this sect, whose total following in the State numbers 32,202 according to the Census of 1931. The sect counts amongst its followers many from the higher Brahman and Vania castes. Neither were the Jains unaffected by his preachings. But the distinctions of caste, and the *varnashrama dharma* were strictly adhered to. The civilizing influence of the sect in reclaiming to the path of virtue, honesty and truth those wild castes like the Kolis, Kathis and Bhils and subduing their spirit of outlawry and bringing them back to society as loyal citizens of the state was profound. In the

1. Sir Monier Williams, *Hinduism and Brahmanism*, p. 149.
2. Quoted from *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 475, by Dr. Jogendranath Bhattacharya.

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words of Bishop Heber, "he condemned theft and bloodshed ; and those villages and districts which had received him from being among the worst were now among the best and orderly in the provinces." This aspect of his work has been summarised as follows by Henry George Briggs, who says :—

"But the genius of Sahajanand Swami was not confined simply to the rigid re-establishment of Hindu worship in virgin integrity, it was also directed against the irregularities of the age and to the recovery of thousands of those unfortunate men to be found throughout Guzerat, whose means of subsistence hitherto were equally lawless and precarious. Of his success in this latter respect there is abundant testimony from the vast hordes who have been reclaimed to honest and industrious pursuits, while the present undisturbed state of the country compared with its condition previously will speak volumes for him who, at least in this respect, justly earns the appellation of Reformer, apart from those reasons which may be urged of the presence of an equitable British Government and the existence of a moral dread effecting much in this way. The wide latitude, too, which his doctrines comprise permitting men of all classes to live up to them so long as they are faithfully observed has materially tended towards Kolis, Katis, Grassias, Rajputs and vast variety of other castes and classes of men rallying under his banner." [1]

In the field of philosophic literature also, the contribution made by Swami Narayan was considerable. He gathered round him a band of local *literati-pundits*, poets, philosophers and musicians. For, he well foresaw that if the structure of a great sect was to be built on a solid basis, and if the sect was to minister to the needs of all sections of his followers, it must also possess its special literature. In Gopalanand, Nityanand, Shukanand and Vasudevanand, all of whom were *brahmacharis*, the sect possessed very able Sanskrit poets, philosophers and commentators who were all men of great piety and spiritual force. The great Dinanath Shastri also wrote in Sanskrit. Commentary in Sanskrit was written on Gita and Vyas Sutra by Swami Gopalanand. Other main works written were *Hari Digvijay, Satsangi Jiwan* and *Satsangi Bhushan*. Brahmanand, Premanand and Nishkulanand were great poets.

6. Organization and Consolidation.—To use a modern phrase, Sahajanand was a great propagandist. He understood the value of propaganda and like Christian missionaries he made it a point to tour the country in company of his disciples and thus broadcast his teachings amongst his followers. The monks were divided in batches and sent out to various parts of the country for *upadesha* (preaching). Later on, he saw the necessity of creating suitable centres whence the preaching could be conveniently carried out. Three great shrines of beautiful architecture with temples on plinths of great height, spacious quadrangles in the midst where the *satsangis*—to use the parlance of the sect—meaning thereby its devotees of all kinds could meet on religious festivals, *dharmashalas* for the residence of the monks with kitchens, and a large assembly hall or *sabha-mandap* either facing or on one side of the temple where the *katha* could be read, were built at sites that were extremely well-chosen. The temple of Nar-Narayan Dev was built at the City of Ahmedabad in the year 1822 A.D., that of Laxmi Narayan Dev at Vadtal in Kaira District near Nadiad in 1825 A.D., and that of Gopi Nath Dev at Gadhada in about 1829 A. D. Temples with cupolas were also built at Bhuj, Junagadh and Dholera. Besides the temples with cupolas or *shikharbandhi mandirs* in which are installed the idols made of wood, stone, or metal, there were built a number of temples in the ordinary style of a building which had pictures set up therein instead of idols. All these temples contained facilities for the residence of both the *tyagis* who came to stay there during their periodical rambles as also for those outside *satsangis* who happened to visit them. The affording of necessary convenience at the shrines even to the laity is a new feature of this sect which is usually not done by other sects. People daily come to the temple for *darshan* or having a look at the deity and hearing the *katha* preached by the ecclesiastics. The institution of *samaiya* was further devised to give opportunities to the adherents of the sect from far and near places to meet at one central place where they could continue religious union amongst themselves, as also with the *acharya*, their spiritual chief. Two *samaiyas* or religious conferences are held annually both at Vadtal and Ahmedabad. The performance of religious sacrifices at many places which were attended by thousands of his followers from the various parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar has been already noticed. Seeing that the monks who were to lead a life of purity, abstinence and voluntary poverty should be kept away from wealth and worldly possessions, Sahajanand Swami appointed Ayodhyaprasad, and Raghuvirprasad the sons of his two brothers, Rampratap and Ichharam respectively, *acharyas*, the heads of the whole *satsang*, of the spiritual and temporal orders of the sect, which was divided into two provinces, *viz.*, Northern and Southern with separate and independent jurisdiction over their devotees. The head-quarters of the former are located at Ahmedabad, and those of the latter at Vadtal. The hereditary institution of *acharyaship*, which calls for high moral qualities and a commanding personality to keep together the different sections of the *satsang* together is not always capable of producing a line of *acharyas* who would be fit persons to control the spiritual destinies of mankind. Such qualities are never handed down from father to son. And in this is lying the weakness of all institutions which have tried to centre all power of any kind, whether temporal or spiritual, in one family. Added to this power are the riches got without labour which cannot but induce a man to give unfettered expression to his carnal desires which is the least desirable aspect of a religious institution. A practical reformer that Sahaja-

1. *Cities of Gusarashtra.*

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nand was, had seen through this possibility and had once thought of appointing his learned disciple, Gopalanand Swami, to the office of Acharya. But as he could not succeed in doing so, this course of giving hereditary *acharyas* to his sect seems to have been adopted as an alternative measure. As in the political sphere, he tried to introduce some sort of indirect check upon them by making it imperative for them to consult the devotees both spiritual and temporal in certain matters and entrusting the management of the temples to the *tyagis*. In order to guard them against certain moral weaknesses they have been also enjoined by *Shikshapatri* or Code of Moral Instructions to behave in a particular manner.

It may be noted that Swami Narayan recognised the stages of spiritual development by creating different orders, *viz.*, one for the ecclesiastics and the other for the laity. Those among the laity who were spiritually inclined and prepared to take the shelter of the shrines of the sect were initiated by the *acharya* and given *diksha*. The ecclesiastical order or *tyagis* comprise three classes *viz.*, Brahmacharis, Sadhus and Parshadas or Palas. Caste was recognised by ordaining that only the Brahmans could be Brahmacharis, while the rest of the caste people could be only Sadhus. The Palas belong to non-Brahman castes and could be also made *sadhus* after a period of probation of a year or two after which his fitness to renounce the world was proved. The Brahmacharis put on white *dhotar* and have a *bhagwa* or salmon-coloured garment for covering the body. The Sadhus are clad in salmon-colcured garments all over. But the Palas are clad white in regular clothes. While the turban of the Brahmacharis is of white cloth, that of the Sadhus is of salmon-colour. No paid worshippers of the shrines are kept, the *puja* being the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmacharis. The routine work of the temple is looked after either by the *sadhus* or *palas* as seen before. The last mentioned class does all kinds of work and serves the temples in every possible manner. No work involving manual labour is got done for wages, but is done as a matter of religous duty by the followers of all denominations.

DIVISION	TEMPLES		*Tyagis* (ECCLESIASTICS)			LAITY
	(With domes) Shikharbandhi	(Without domes) Hari Mandir	Sadhu	Brahmachari	Parshad	Satsangi
Northern-Ahmedabad ...	18	1,300	600	51	250	2,00,000
Southern-Vadtal	22	1,500	800	135	360	2,00,000
Total	40	2,800	1,400	286	610	4,00,000

The above table gives the estimates of the temples, shikharbandhi and others, as also of the adherents, ecclesiastics and laity, supplied by the Gadhada Mandir.

Another innovation in the organization was the creation of a class of nuns who are styled *sankhyayoginis* or female devotees. Equality of sexes is thus another feature of this interesting sect. Equal opportunities are given to both the sexes for the practice of their religion. Separate temples also exist for the females where members of the weaker sex can assemble and carry out religious pursuits. The *katha* is read by the females. The *sankhyayoginis* like the *sadhus* follow strict regulations of the sect, put on red-coloured clothes and worship God Krishna as their Lord. This departure from the general practice of the original Vaishnavism worked for the immense good of those Hindu widows who are forbidden to remarry and required to lead an ascetic life. Assistance was thus given them for the practice of that sort of strictly religious life which could be only done by renouncing worldly enjoyments.

The spirit of organization and propaganda which marked the activities of the founder of this sect is also the characteristic feature of his present day followers. Those who have seen the organization have been struck by the thoroughness and details with which it is worked. The spirit of hero-worship is another novelty of this *sampradaya*. As in the western countries which preserve the houses and articles used by the great men who have gone by, the places visited and occupied by Swami Sahajanand as also the articles used and worn by him have been preserved with singular devotion and command great reverence from his followers. His turban, shawls, sandals, etc, have been all preserved at the principal shrines of the sect and elsewhere.

7. Doctrines and Philosophy of the Sect.—The first and foremost amongst the works of the sect is the *Shikshapatri* or Code of Moral Instructions. It is a small book of two hundred and twelve verses written in Sanskrit and enunciates the rules of conduct for the various classes of the devotees. After outlining the general duties of his followers, the *Patri* proceeds to detail the special duties enjoined upon the different sections. It aims not only at the moral and spiritual reformation of the adherents, but also gives practical advice for the conduct of the individual in his daily life. It asks him not only to lead a life of piety, non-violence and truth, but asks him not to eat animal food and take intoxicating drinks. It also instructs him never to incur debt, forbids expenditure in excess of income and enjoins the regular keeping of accounts. The

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morals of his followers the Swami sought to improve by forbidding such offences as theft, adultery and taking of things owned by others without the owner's permission. Toleration of religion was secured by directing them not to censure other's deities.

On the philosophic side, the Swaminarayan sect has adopted the Vishistadvaita or qualified *advaita* doctrine of Ramanujacharya and on the ritualistic side it has taken a left from the *pushti marga* of Vallabhacharya in the form of the worship of Shri Krishna. It inculcates the worship of Gopi and Krishna and their incarnations of Laxmi and Vishnu as also of Nar and Narayan whose idols are installed in the principal temples of the sect. The Shastras which the adherents are enjoined to follow are (i) the Vedas, (ii) Vyas Sutra, (iii) Shrimad Bhagwat, (iv) Vishnu Sahasranama from the Mahabharat, (v) Bhagwat Gita, (vi) Vidur Niti, (vii) Vasudev Mahatmya from the Skandha Purana, and (viii) Yagnavalkya's Smriti. *Dharmamruta* and *Nishkam Shuddhi* lay down respectively the duties of the laity and the penance to be undergone in case of lapses committed by the *tyagis* while doing selfless work. The last but not the least is the *Vachanamruta* which is an excellent work in Gujarati language giving the encyclical communications of Sahajanand Swami addressed to his disciples from time to time at various places. They were compiled by Muktanand, Nityanand, and Shukanand Swami and are also translated into Sanskrit. The original Gujarati work is written in clear, easy and unambiguous language and embodies the sayings of a saint who himself had experienced the spiritual knowledge which alone enables a man to understand the Supreme Being, Lord Krishna.

8. **Conclusion.**—Much has been made of the *Samadhi prakarana, i. e.*, the mesmeric power possessed and the mystic phenomena performed by Shriji Maharaj by which a person was made to fall into trance and have the *darshan* of God Krishna. This has been regarded by some as the main source of his influence over his devotees. But his real power lay in his life of abstinence, in his yearning to bring salvation to his followers by leading a life of purity and morality, and the practice of penance and meditation which alone can secure them a place in the next world. His living example as the embodiment of all godly virtues was a great force of attraction in the cause of religious reform. His remarkable personality, insistence on morals, Brahmacharya, and Ahimsa in word, deed and action, unbounded generosity and philanthropic exertions coupled with his ability and force of character to carry the *satsang* forward in matters religious and moral were at the root of his popularity and success. He struck at the very root of impure associations by ordering separate temples and congregation of the females, and thus administered a wholesome check to those immoral practices which he had seen in other sister sects which allowed free association of the sexes.

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CHAPTER XII

CASTE, TRIBE AND RACE

SECTION I—REFERENCE TO STATISTICS

291. Reference to Statistics.—This Chapter primarily aims at discussing the numerical strength of the various Hindu, Muslim and Jain castes, the tribes of aborigines, if any, and the races of foreigners returned in the State on the Night of the Census. While the absolute figures are compiled in Imperial Table XVII, the proportional figures will be found in the Subsidiary and marginal tables inserted in the Chapter. Caste being a very important institution that has governed the social, religious, moral and to some extent the economic life of the people of the State, the statistics relating to Age, Civil Condition, Literacy, Infirmities and Occupation are given in Imperial Tables VIII, XIV, IX, and XI for the principal castes enumerated in the State, and already analysed in some of the preceding Chapters. The interest that, therefore, attaches to this chapter is mainly statistical.

292. The Basis of the Figures.—The entries made in column 8 of the schedule supplied the data that were subsequently abstracted and tabulated in Imperial Table XVII for Caste, Tribe and Race. The following instructions were printed on the enumeration book cover:—

"Column 8 (Caste).—Enter the caste or tribe of Hindus, Musalmans, Jains, Sikhs, Aryas, Brahmos and aboriginal tribes, and race of Christians, Buddhists, Parsis, etc."

Further instructions were given in Chapter V of the Census Code which detailed the duties of the enumerators. Of all the instructions given therein, those relating to the caste of the enumerated were the lengthiest. They enjoined upon the worker the necessity of taking care to enter the real caste name, 'and not the name of a sub-caste only, or of an exogamous group or title, or a word merely indicating locality or occupation.' The return of such terms as Kshatriyas, Vaishyas denoting the archaic division of society and of words like Bengali, Madrasi, and Gujarati showing territorial differences was to be scrupulously avoided. The racial and functional groups of the Muslims were to be recognised and shown either as Sheikh, Saiyad, Moghul, Arab on the one hand, and Machhi, Hajam, Pinjara, Ghanchi, etc., on the other. It was laid down that the sub-castes were to be entered for the Brahmans, Vanias, Kanbis and Kolis. The enumerators were also instructed to make sure that a man returning an occupational caste really belonged to that caste, and did not confuse it with his occupation which was quite different from his caste. The return of fanciful caste names was to be guarded against, and in all cases rejected.

Opportunity was also taken to record and sort all the various sub-castes prevailing in the State. This revealed a bewildering multiplicity of social groups

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numbering 892. Of these, 651 were Hindu caste names, 214 Muslim, and 27 Jain. But the tabulation of these statistics was carried out on the lines of the Index of Castes supplied by the Provincial Census Superintendent, Bombay Presidency, with necessary modifications to suit the local requirements, sub-castes having been shown only for the Brahmans, Vanias, Kanbis and Kolis. In all 143 castes have been shown in the table on this occasion as against 87 in 1921. The margin compares by religion the number of caste names shown at the last two enumerations. The present Census thus shows 56 caste names more than those shown ten years ago.

Religion or Tribe	Number of caste names shown in	
	1931	1921
Total ...	143	87
Hindu ...	94	66
Jain ...	12	2
Forest Tribes ...	2	1
Musalman ...	35	18

293. Accuracy of Caste Returns.—As a general rule, everybody knows the caste of his birth. The chances, therefore, of mis-statement in the record arising from the ignorance of the enumerated are very few. When the main caste is stated side by side with the sub-caste, the possibility of error is greatly reduced. For, the possibility of a wrong entry is far less in the case of the former than in that of the latter. But the wide complexity and infinite variety to which the Hindu caste system has lent itself, are nevertheless a very fruitful source of error in the Census records. More often than not, a person is unconscious of committing any deliberate mis-statement of his caste, when the enumerated belongs to one of the functional castes. Except in the case of the occupations of Brahmans or the priestly class and the untouchables, the rigidity of caste does not operate in the matter of their selection of occupations. As will be seen further, under the stress of modern economic conditions, it has been found no longer possible for the members of a particular caste to stick to its hereditary or traditional calling. The return of such names as Kadia, Luhar, Sutar, etc., does not necessarily imply that the persons whose caste names they happen to be are plying the occupations denoted by them. Even the Brahmans, the custodian of the Vedic lore, have betaken themselves to occupations which according to Manu should have been followed by the members of the Sudra class. But another source of error in the Census records of caste lies in the social differentiation and hierarchy of groups with the Brahman caste at their apex exercising a peculiar influence on the mind of the lower classes. The tendency to rise higher in social ascendency by receiving promotion to the higher group through the practice of their customs and adoption of their names has been widespread. While such castes as the Sonis try to pass off as Vania, the Dheds, Kolis, Rabaris and others have adopted the Rajput clan names like the Parmar, Chauhan, Vaghela and others. The barbers, who are called *Valand* trace a Brahman origin and more ambitiously style themselves Valam Brahmans. The existence of this tendency cannot be denied in this State. But as the main caste names were very carefully recorded and all doubtful entries verified the returns of caste are very accurate for all practical purposes. Besides, the utility of statistics by caste does not lie in examining them for each individual caste, but for different social groups corresponding to their cultural development and economic status. And for this end, they may be taken to be sufficiently trustworthy.

294. Utility of Caste Returns.—The usefulness of scheduling the statistics for and by caste has been impeached since the Census of 1901, both in the press, on the platform and even in the Indian Legislatures. While the statistical accuracy of the returns is questioned, its demological value has been alleged to be of doubtful utility. But the nationalist or quasi-political point of view advocating the scrapping of the caste column off the schedule cannot be better represented than by giving the following extract from a leader in the Times of India which criticises the activities of the "Jat-Pat Torak Mandal," (Caste Breaking Society) of Lahore in advising the return of the Hindu population as Hindu, irrespective of the caste or sub-caste of the enumerated person :—

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"The contention of the Mandal is that the usual enumeration of the myraid caste and sub-castes is a sort of State encouragement to the fissiparous tendency with Hindu social polity which has kept the Hindus from becoming one nation and which is an anomaly in these days of democracy, equality, fraternity."[1]

Arguments of this sort are nowadays advanced from all sides of the country, but they are to be little met with in the State where caste consciousness holds a great sway over the minds of the people. To them, caste is a living reality which governs their life from birth to death. All these contentions against the entry of caste by the Census arise from a wrong conception of its aims and objects which are merely to make a record of existing social facts. As in the West where the basis of social differentiation is wealth and not birth as in the East which is more rigid than the former, it is not possible to present the statistics of population in occupational groups of society, though the possibility of examining them only for urban and rural areas by religion which are the main broad divisions of the people of the State as well as of India, deserves to be carefully considered. In the absence of any other basis of classifying the returns of population for gauging the condition of the people and their attitude towards such matters of demological importance as infant and child marriages, widow remarriages, fertility and the like, caste with its unique gradations of society has great economic and social value for Census purposes. Caste is the governing principle of the Hindu social organization. The first question that a man generally puts to his new acquaintance is not about his occupation but about the caste of his birth. The idea of a man's caste has not ceased to conjure up in the minds of the Hindus, certain definite notions about his religious and moral attitude, and social and economic status. To the majority of the population it is still a heavenly ordained institution brought into existence by the will of Providence. Even the educated few who are increasingly dissatisfied with its present form, do not wish it to be totally effaced from the surface of this earth, though they would wish it to be rejuvenated in such a form as to give unfettered scope to the energies of the individual and confine its activities purely to matters social. When such is the attitude of the people towards caste, and so long as no possible alternative basis of statistical classification of the population for studying certain questions of demographic interest can be substituted, the return of caste in the Census schedule cannot be easily dispensed with. Such as they are, they furnish very useful data relating to the extent and prevalence of some of the most important social phenomena in the different strata of society.

SECTION II—DISTRIBUTION AND VARIATION OF CASTES

295. Distribution and Variation of Castes.—Below will be considered the proportional distribution and variation per cent. in the numerical strength of the principal castes returned in the state. Local distribution of castes by Mahal will also be considered in brief in order to show the areas where the members of a particular caste mainly reside. Owing to the difficulty of examining the position of each individual caste separately, only the important castes will be taken up one after another under certain traditional functional groups, after considering the principal caste statistics by religion. This arrangement will be followed simply for the sake of convenience. The numbers, rate of variation and the proportionate strength of the remaining castes and the main sub-castes will be given in Subsidiary Table II at the end of the Chapter. The fluidity and the ease with which traditional occupations are nowadays abandoned, render it inadvisable to ascertain the variation in the numbers of the different groups, as the members of that group do not necessarily follow the hereditary occupation denoted by it. Such an attempt will not, therefore, be made. The proportionate

1. *Times of India* dated the 14th October 1930.

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strength of each group per mille of the population and the variation per cent. since 1921 are disclosed by the margin for the main social groups. The most important group relates to landholders and cultivators, the combined strength of the castes like Kanbi comprised therein being 241 to the thousand. The group of labourers which mainly consists of Kolis comes next with 189 and is followed by traders and peddlers including Vanias, Khojas Vohoras and Memons with 128 per mille of the population. The proportions of the remaining groups vary from 11 to 82.

Main Groups	Proportionate strength per mille	Variation per cent. since 1921
Landholders and Cultivators ...	241	+30·5
Labourers ...	189	+28·4
Traders and Peddlers ...	128	+13·7
Priests and Devotees ...	82	— 2·4
Weavers, Carders and Dyers ...	38	+36·5
Military and Dominant ...	61	+17·5
Graziers and Dairymen ...	57	+13·7
Leather Workers ...	21	+14·09
Potters ...	46	+26·4
Hunters and Fowlers ...	11	+31·6
Carpenters ...	12	+19·1
Tailors ...	14	+20·4
Barbers ...	15	+ 6·5
Blacksmiths ...	13	+24·2
Oil pressers ...	11	+95·5
Others ...	61	—21·4

296. Returns of Principal Castes.—The marginal statement shows the strength of each of the main castes of the state. Brahmans of all kinds number 38,199 or 7·6 per cent. of the total population. Both the Hindu and Jain Vanias are a little more than the Brahmans and number 41,517 or 8·2 per cent. The Rajputs are 23,420 and form 4·6 per cent. of the State population. But the strength of Kolis and Kanbis is the highest of all the other castes. They respectively number 86,287 and 89,390, their percentages of the general population being 17·2 and 17·8. Both these castes combined claim more than one-third of the total population. While the untouchables number 22,338, some of the minor castes like the Ahir, Bharwad and Kumbhar number 9,598, 14,278 and 22,953 respectively. The Pancholis figure in the caste table for the first time, though they are substantially represented in the State by 12,792 persons. Among the Musalmans the total strength of castes with foreign strain is 6,042 as against 36,704 of the local converts.

Name of Group	Percentage of total population
HINDU	
Brahman ...	7·6
Vania (Hindu and Jain) ...	8·2
Rajput ...	4·6
Kanbi ...	17·8
Koli ...	17·2
Untouchables ...	4·4
Ahir ...	1·9
Bharwad ...	2·8
Kumbhar ...	4·5
Pancholi ...	2·5
MUSLIM	
With Foreign Strain ...	1·2
Local Converts ...	6·9

297. Hindu and Jain Castes.—The diagram opposite shows the relative strength of such of the Hindu and Jain castes as number over 3,000. In the margin are given the number and strength of castes falling under the different caste groups varying from below 5,000 to 50,000 and over. The distribution of castes in various groups reveals very vividly the fissiparous tendency at work in the mechanism of caste, especially among the higher castes. While there are only two castes whose strength numbers over 50,000 and only 20 whose strength ranges from 5,000 to 50,000, the number of smaller castes with less than 5,000 persons is recorded to be as large as 85. Analysing the figures for the individual castes, it is observed that the first group with a strength of 50,000 and over has 1,45,959 and includes the two lower castes perof Kanbi.

SIZE OF HINDU AND JAIN CASTES

Group containing castes with a strength of	Number of castes	Strength
I. 50,000 and over	2	1,45,959
II. 20,000-50,000	3	67,153
III. 10,000-20,000	5	66,887
IV. 5,000-10,000	12	81,072
V. Below 5,000	85	1,03,421
Unspecified	7	72,093

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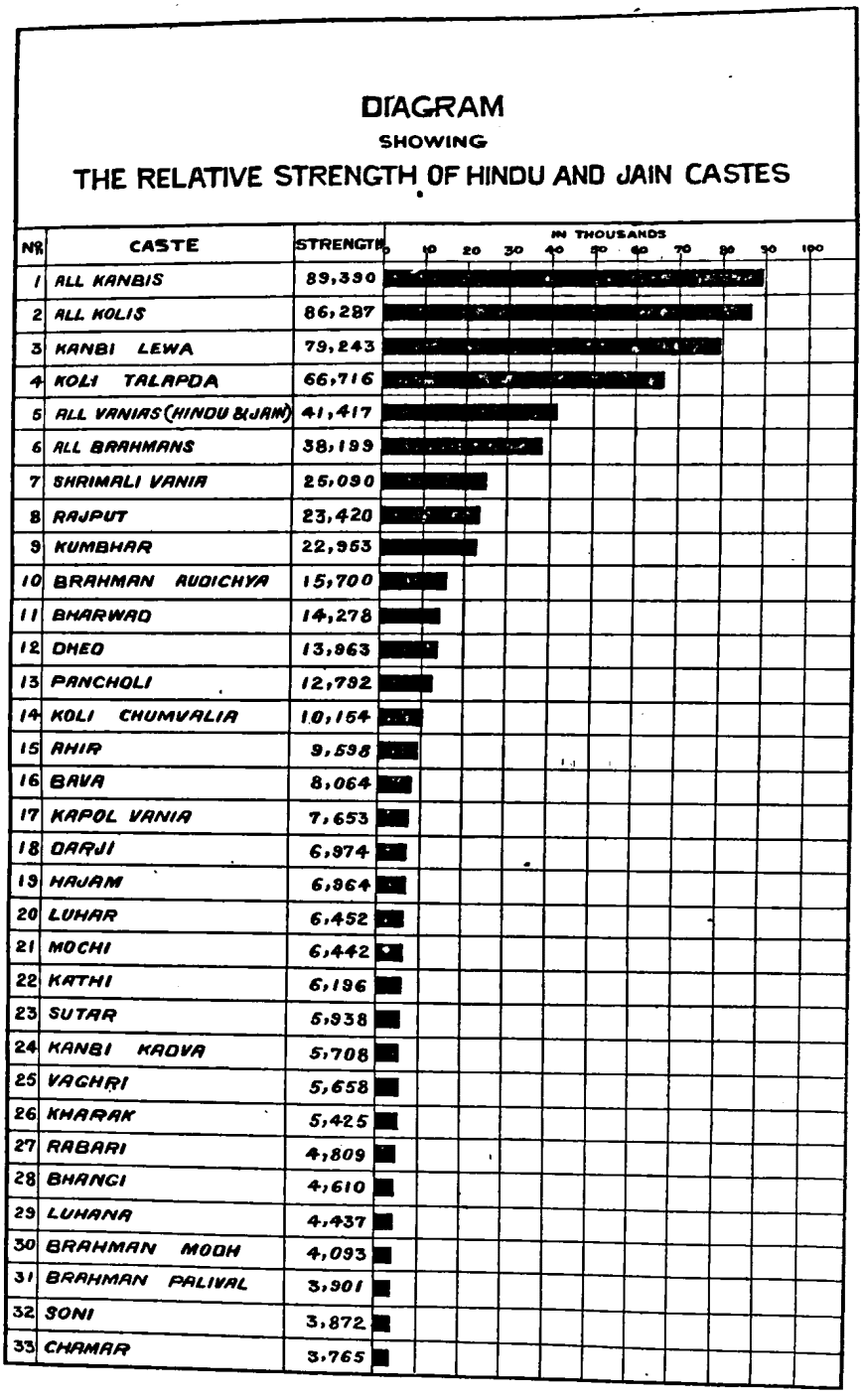
DIAGRAM
SHOWING
THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF HINDU AND JAIN CASTES



Nº	CASTE	STRENGTH
1	ALL KANBIS	89,390
2	ALL KOLIS	86,287
3	KANBI LEWA	79,243
4	KOLI TALAPDA	66,716
5	ALL VANIAS (HINDU & JAIN)	41,417
6	ALL BRAHMANS	38,199
7	SHRIMALI VANIA	25,090
8	RAJPUT	23,420
9	KUMBHAR	22,953
10	BRAHMAN AUDICHYA	15,700
11	BHARWAD	14,278
12	DHED	13,963
13	PANCHOLI	12,792
14	KOLI CHUMVALIA	10,154
15	AHIR	9,538
16	BAVA	8,064
17	KAPOL VANIA	7,653
18	DARJI	6,974
19	HAJAM	6,964
20	LUHAR	6,452
21	MOCHI	6,442
22	KATHI	6,196
23	SUTAR	5,938
24	KANBI KADVA	5,708
25	VAGHRI	5,658
26	KHARAK	5,425
27	RABARI	4,809
28	BHANGI	4,610
29	LUHANA	4,437
30	BRAHMAN MODH	4,093
31	BRAHMAN PALIVAL	3,901
32	SONI	3,872
33	CHAMAR	3,765

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Lewa and Koli Talapda. There is very little difference between the strength of Classes II (10,000-50,000) and III (10,000-20,000) which respectively total up to 67,153 and 66,887. But while the former is made up of three castes, *viz.*, Kumbhar, Rajput and Shrimali Vania, the latter includes Bharwad, Audichya Brahman, Dhed, Koli Chumvalia, and Pancholi. The strength of Class IV (5,000-10,000) is 81,072 and includes a dozen of castes. Of the remaining 85 castes falling under the Class V (below 5,000), five are with a strength of over 4,000, three with a strength of over 3,000, and six with a strength of over 2,000.

298. Muslim Castes.—Islam being a democratic religion treats all its co-religionists on a footing of equality and does not recognise distinctions of caste or birth. Intermarriages between different sections and interdining with one another are, therefore, theoretically allowed. But Hinduism exercised a very powerful influence upon Islam in this country, and in course of time became responsible for the adoption by the Musalmans of many a Hindu custom that is now found to prevail among them. Further, the majority of the Mahomedans are converts from Hinduism, and the customs and practices which they originally observed, have naturally survived among them even after their religious conversion. As has been already noticed before, such customs as the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows and practice of early marriages found their way into the Muslim Society whose division into castes according to their race or occupation promoted the formation of exclusive autonomous groups. The latter have become practically endogamous and intermarriage between the different groups is unknown. The Saiyad will marry only with a Saiyad, and a Pathan only with a Pathan. The influence of caste is greater among the local converts many of whom have changed their religious belief without at the same time changing their original caste names. Thus there is a greater variety of castes among the local converts than among the Musalmans with foreign strain, the respective number of their castes being 23 and 12. In the State, while the former number 36,704 or 86 per cent. of the total Muslim population, the latter are represented by 6,042 or 14 per cent. The following statement shows the castes of the Musalmans with foreign strain and of those with indigenous blood. While in the former category are included such racial castes as the Arabs, Pathans, Moguls, and Sindhis, the latter consists of the locally converted castes like the Khojas, Memons, Vohoras and the functional castes like Dhobis, Hajams, Galiaras, Pinjaras, etc.

CASTES	Number of caste name included	Strength
Total Muslim ...	35	42,746
Foreign Elements	12	6,042
Saiyad, Sheikh, Kureshi, Arab, Khokhar, Pathan, Makrani, Baloch, Sidi, Multani, Mir and Sindhi.		
Local Converts	23	36,704
Khoja, Memon, Vohora, Molesalem, Momna, Sipai, Dhadhi, Bhand, Dhobi, Galiara, Ghanchi, Hajam, Luhar, Kaji, Khatri, Miyana, Mali, Khatki, Pinjara, Tai, Jat, Malek, Fakir, and Unspecified Musalmans.		

The diagram at page 262 illustrates the relative strength of Muslim castes which number over 500. Among the Musalmans with foreign strain, the Sindhis are in a majority and number 2,423. Of the rest with any appreciable strength, the Pathans number 780, Arabs 764, Siayads 713, and Balochis 468. But among the Musalmans with indigenous blood, the larger sections are represented by Sipais (8,506), Khojas (8,290), Memons (7,290), Ghanchis (5,481) and Vohoras (2,490). The Sheikhs who are usually deemed to possess foreign strain number 694, as against 12,007 in 1921. The vast difference between the figures of 1921 and 1931 results from the fact that the Sipais who number 8,506 at the present Census were not shown separately at the last and wrongly returned as Sheikhs. For, as amongst the Hindus the social incentive which induces people to show themselves as belonging to such higher castes as Brahmans, Vanias and Rajputs, impels the Musalmans to return them-

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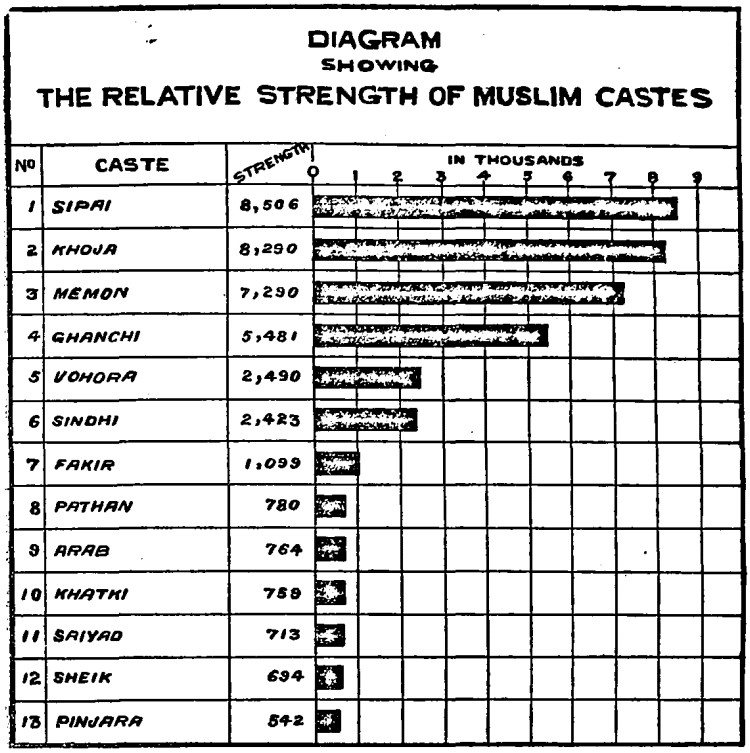

selves as Sheikhs. The Musalmans unspecified have increased from 321 in 1921 to 1,959 in 1931.

299. Tribal Castes.—The winning over of the aboriginal tribes to the Hinduistic fold has been long since carried out in this State. There are, therefore, no castes which should be properly styled as tribal. The Kolis have definitely passed over to Hinduism and so also the Bhils who number 503. But the wandering and criminal tribe of Adodias that has been this time enumerated in the Umrala Mahal numbers 66.

300. Distribution of Castes by Mahal.—The territorial distribution of certain castes and groups by Mahal will now be seen. The total number of Brahmans of all kinds is 38,199. Of these as many as 11,297 reside in the Mahal of Daskroi, the City of Bhavnagar alone being credited with 9,640 or one-fourth of the total. Of the remainder, Mahuva has 5,916, Talaja 5,257, Sihor 4,191 and Kundla 4,053, the figures for the rest of the Mahals varying from 1,971 for Umrala to 1,107 for Gadhada. The largest number of Brahmans are enumerated in the City owing to the concentration of the Audichya, Modh, Nagar and Shrimali Brahmans at the State capital. As will be seen from the marginal statement the Vanias who belong to

Mahal	Number of Brahmans
State ...	**38,199**
Bhavnagar City ...	9,640
Daskroi (Ex. of City) ...	1,657
Sihor ...	4,191
Umrala ...	1,971
Gadhada ...	1,107
Botad ...	1,491
Lilia ...	1,385
Kundla ...	4,053
Victor ...	1,531
Mahuva ...	5,916
Talaja ...	5,257

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the mercantile community are also concentrated in the City which accounts for 11,168 out of 41,517 in the whole of the State. Being a money-lending caste they are spread over all the Mahals according to the numerical strength of each of them. The distribution of the Hindu and Jain Vanias is not found to be the same. In all the Mahals of the State except Victor and Mahuva, the Jain Vanias outnumber the Hindu.

MAHAL	VANIA		
	Hindu	Jain	Total
State	**19,379**	**22,138**	**41,517**
Bhavnagar City	5,176	5,992	11,168
Daskroi (Ex. of City) ...	701	519	1,220
Sihor	1,690	2,083	3,773
Umrala	672	1,400	2,072
Gadhada	545	1,157	1,702
Botad	1,185	2,822	4,007
Lilia	388	403	791
Kundla	1,715	3,183	4,898
Victor	1,847	120	1,967
Mahuva	4,453	2,526	6,979
Talaja	1,007	1,933	2,940

The margin shows the distribution of the main castes, *viz.*, Kumbhar (22,953), Sutar (5,938), Luhar (6,452), Darji (6,974) and Soni (3,872), comprised in the artisan group. Kumbhars lead from the point of numbers, and are concentrated for the most part in the Mahals of the Southern Division, their largest number (7,446) being in the Mahal of Mahuva. It should, however, be here pointed out that all Kumbhars do not follow the potter's profession, but a larger number of them is engaged in agriculture and a fair proportion works as carpenters and masons. And when that is the case they are known as Kumbhar-Sutars or Kumbhar-Kadias. But this aspect of the matter has been already dealt with in the chapter on occupation. The local distribution of the Sutars follows very nearly the same order as that of the Kumbhars. But the iron handicraft industry which turns out scales, knives and other articles of household use and thrives in the town of Kundla gives the Mahal of that name the first place in the matter of the distribution of Luhars. Like Darjis, they are to be found chiefly in the Mahals of Daskroi, Kundla and Mahuva. But the greater scope of exhibiting their skill and inventing new fashions which the tailors have in the City, gives to it the largest number (1,893) of Darjis. The main strength of Sonis is in the Mahals of Kundla and Mahuva where they number 673 and 766 respectively.

MAHAL	MAIN ARTISAN GROUPS				
	Kumbhar	Sutar	Luhar	Darji	Soni
State ...	**22,953**	**5,938**	**6,452**	**6,974**	**3,872**
Bhavnagar City ...	1,293	995	1,102	1,893	256
Daskroi (Ex. of City) ...	686	204	231	235	206
Sihor ...	473	277	459	403	242
Umrala ...	511	509	537	328	275
Gadhada ...	430	369	243	401	272
Botad	3,195	441	512	526	338
Lilia	614	308	211	274	189
Kundla	4,536	934	1,298	862	673
Victor	2,194	293	340	385	376
Mahuva... ...	7,446	1,004	1,027	1,220	766
Talaja	1,576	604	492	447	279

The distribution of the two major castes of the State, Kanbis and Kolis, is illustrated by the statements in the margin. Of the total Kanbis, 5,708 are Kadva, 78,243 Lewa and 4,439 others. While the Kadvas are very unevenly distributed and for the most part reside in the City and the Mahal of Botad, the Lewas being primarily an agriculturist class are evenly spread all over the State. But they are to be found in larger numbers in

MAHAL	STRENGTH OF MAIN KANBI CASTES			
	Kadva	Lewa	Others	Total
State ...	**5,708**	**78,243**	**4,439**	**89,390**
Bhavnagar City ...	2,371	1,923	222	4,516
Daskroi (Ex. of City) ...	1	4,630	103	4,734
Sihor ...	129	5,533	24	5,686
Umrala ...	5	10,979	848	11,832
Gadhada ...	419	5,372	...	4,791
Botad ...	2,112	5,123	284	7,519
Lilia ...	581	10,547	1,498	12,626
Kundla ...	32	25,778	575	26,815
Victor ...	1	1,283	71	1,355
Mahuva ...	11	4,428	715	5,154
Talaja ...	46	3,647	99	3,792

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the Mahals of Kundla (25,778), Umrala (10,979) and Lilia (10,547), where they jointly account for 47,304 or 60 per cent. of the total Lewa Kanbis. Of the total Kolis, 56,716 are Talapda, 10,154 Chumvalias, and 12,052 others. Under 'others' are included those sub-castes of Kolis which aspire to trace Rajput origin and ally their caste name with those of the Rajput clans. The Koli population preponderates in the Coastal Mahals of Mahuva, Daskroi and Talaja, and to some extent in Kundla. The latter claim between them 61,857 or 71 per cent. of the total Kolis. Their greater concentration in the Mahal of Daskroi (21,734), more particularly in the City (10,197) is due to the manual labour they supply to the growing urban industries and commerce. But the City excepted, the Mahal of Mahuva has the largest number (20,692) of Kolis whose original inhabitat seems to be the areas abutting on the sea-coast, *i.e.*, the Mahals of Daskroi, Mahuva and Talaja.

MAHAL	Distribution of Main Koli Castes			
	Talapda	Chumvalia	Others	Total
State ...	**66,716**	**10,154**	**9,417**	**86,287**
Bhavnagar City ...	8,460	624	1,113	10,197
Daskroi (Ex.) of City ...	10,602	935	...	11,537
Sihor ...	3,151	959	177	4,287
Umrala ...	2,984	669	323	3,976
Gadhada ...	4,344	181	17	4,542
Botad ...	3,792	971	397	5,160
Lilia ...	613	1,067	431	2,111
Kundla ...	3,798	2,561	1,141	7,500
Victor ...	3,554	283	517	4,354
Mahuva ...	16,254	1,161	3,277	20,692
Talaja ...	9,164	743	2,024	11,931

The following statement distributes some of the principal Muslim castes of the State.

MAHAL	Local Distribution of Muslim castes									
	Arab	Ghanchi	Khoja	Memon	Pathan	Saiyad	Sindhi	Sheikh	Sipai	Vohora
State ...	**764**	**5,481**	**8,290**	**7,290**	**780**	**713**	**2,423**	**694**	**8,506**	**2,490**
Bhavnagar City	368	872	1,010	2,978	522	295	128	589	3,065	905
Daskroi (Ex. of City) ...	...	271	441	156	2	1	59	...	124	2
Sihor ...	20	703	360	605	3	...	64	2	497	41
Umrala ...	10	254	173	710	66	80	50	2	353	35
Gadhada ...	12	225	311	463	15	4	29	9	222	33
Botad ...	19	689	478	176	23	5	84	33	375	257
Lilia ...	11	196	104	113	14	61	324	...	452	110
Kundla ...	47	463	768	674	26	79	689	1	1,401	304
Victor ...	11	319	621	224	23	27	408	1	398	221
Mahuva ...	244	1,086	2,886	813	56	159	581	39	1,341	416
Talaja ...	22	403	1,138	378	30	2	7	18	624	166

Among the Musalmans with indigenous blood, the Sipais, Khojas, Memons, Ghanchis and Vohoras alone will be considered. The Sipais who number 8,506 are mainly concentrated in the City, though they are substantially represented in the Mahals of Kundla (1,401), Mahuva (1,341), and Talaja (624). The same is partially true of the Khojas whose preference for Mahuva is shown by their having the highest number (2886) of their caste people in the Mahal of that name. But the Memons who are 7,290 have got the largest number of their community in the City which alone accounts for 2,978. Of the 5,481 Ghanchis, as many as 1,086 reside in the Mahal of Mahuva, the rest being evenly distributed in all the Mahals of the State. The Vohoras being a trading community, of the 2,409 that inhabit the State, 905 are claimed by the City. Among the Musalmans with foreign strain the strength of Sindhis is the greatest. They are mainly congregated in the border Mahals of Lilia, Kundla, Victor and Mahuva where they were employed for military purposes in old times and still hold lands on service tenure. Of the 764 Arabs, 368 live in the City of Bhavnagar and 244 in the Mahal

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of Mahuva. The Pathans number 780, as many as 522 being in the City. The rest are scattered over the remaining Mahals where their strength varies from 3 to 66 The same is also the case with Sheikhs who number 694, the City alone having 589. But the Saiyads who number 780 are to be mainly found at the capital (295) and the Mahal of Mahuva (159).

301. Variation by Occupational Groups.—The main castes will now be arranged in groups according to their traditional occupations for the purposes of estimating their rates of variation during the past decennium. The arrangement is one only of convenience and the variation in the individual group has got nothing to do with it. It is the variation in the numbers of the caste considered that alone matters. The functional basis of caste no longer holds the field. For, the hereditary occupation under which it is grouped is in many cases no longer adhered to, the tendency to leave them having become more marked and intensified during recent years. Taking the classical example of the priestly class, the Brahmans have, except in a few cases, abandoned their ancient avocation of ministering to the people, and have definitely gone in for service and business.

302. Priestly Castes and Devotees.—The castes considered under this head are Brahmans and Bavas amongst the Hindus, and Fakirs and Saiyads amongst the Muslims. The margin shows their strength and rates of variation. Amongst the Brahmans, subcastes like Audichya, Mewada, Modh and Shrimali are also examined. Referring to Subsidiary Table II at the end, it will be seen that Brahmans of all kinds have during the last ten years increased from 33,777 to 38,199 or by 13 per cent. and that their proportionate strength is 76 in every thousand of the State population. The rate of increase among the Audichya Brahmans is the lowest (10 per cent.), but the highest percentage increase (48) in the strength of the Shrimali Brahmans is not all due to natural causes, and is for the most part derived from immigration. The latter factor operates to a smaller extent among the Mewada, Modh and Nagar Brahmans whose rates of variation are 16, 24 and 17 per cent. respectively. The greater prevalence of celibacy among the Bavas generally has resulted in a comparatively smaller increase of only 6·5 per cent. But amongst the Musalmans, while the Saiyads have increased from 664 to 714, the Fakirs who number 1,099 appear for the first time in the Table.

Priestly Castes		Strength	Increase + Decrease − per cent. since 1921
	Bava ...	8,064	+ 6·5
Brahman	Audichya ...	15,700	+ 10·1
,,	Mewada ...	1,350	+ 16·4
,,	Modh ...	4,093	+ 24·5
,,	Nagar ...	2,709	+ 17·2
,,	Shrimali ...	2,215	+ 47·8
	Fakir ...	1,099	...
	Saiyad ...	713	+ 73·8

303. Traders.—Under the group of traders will be considered the Jain Vanias, some sub-castes of Hindu Vanias, Bhatias and Luhanas, and the Khojas, Memons and Vohoras among the Muslims. While the Jain Vanias have increased from 20,017 in 1921 to 22,138 in 1931, the Hindu Vanias have gone up from 16,519 to 19,379. Their respective percentages of rise are 10·6 and 17·3. But amongst the Jain Vanias, the Shrimalis register an increase of 27·6 per cent., which is slightly beaten by the Modhs who have risen by 29 per cent. All the Shrimali Vanias—Hindu and Jain combined number 25,090 and show an increase of 17 per cent. While 39 per mille of the population are Hindu Vanias, the similar proportions for the Jain and total Vanias are 44 and 83 respectively. While the Kapols have risen by 9·4 per cent., the

Traders	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
HINDU AND JAIN		
Hindu Vania ...	19,379	+ 17·3
Jain Vania ...	22,138	+ 10·6
Vania Kapol ...	7,653	+ 9·4
,, Modh ...	2,747	+ 29·1
,, Porwad ...	403	+ 151·9
,, Sorathia ...	1,072	− 2·5
Bhatia	118	+ 18·2
Luhana... ...	4,437	+ 14·0
MUSALMAN		
Khoja	8,290	+ 18·2
Memon... ...	7,290	+ 10·6
Vohora... ...	2,490	+ 13·0

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increase among the Bhatias is 18·2 and that among the Luhanas 14. The singular exception to the rule of increase among the trading class is afforded by the Sorathia Vanias who have fallen off by 2·5 per cent. largely owing to emigration outside the State for trade or business. Among the Muslim traders, the rate of increase is the highest (18·2) amongst the Khojas who are followed by the Vohoras with 13 and the Memons by 10·6 per cent.

304. Military Castes.—The margin supplies the numbers and percentages of increase amongst the Rajputs, Kathis, Marathas and the Muslim Arabs. The variation by way of increase is the highest (172·5 per cent.) amongst the Marathas, and results from their smaller numbers and from their being an immigrant community. They have risen from 62 in 1921 to 169 in 1931. But the Rajputs who are 47 per mille of the total population have inereased by 19 per cent. during the past decennuim. The increase is not purely natural, as some of it must be ascribed to the desire of the lower castes to rank higher in the social scale by returning themselves under the names of famous Rajput clans. The increase of 11·6 per cent. amongst the Kathis seems to be natural; but the smaller increase (4·6) amongst the Arabs is due to their being a foreign community whose males alone came to the State for service.

Military Castes	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
Rajput ...	23,420	+ 19·1
Kathi ...	6,196	+ 11·6
Maratha ...	169	+ 172·5
Arab ...	764	+ 4·6

305. Cultivators.—Under this most important and numerous group will be examined the variation in the Hindu castes like Kanbi, Kharak, Mali, Pancholi, Sathwara and Palewal Brahman, and the Muslim castes like Sindhi, Pathan and Sheikh. The dominant agriculturist class is that of the Kanbis whose proportion per thousand of the total population is 179. Of these, as many as 158 are Lewa Kanbis who have increased by 10 per cent. But the increase of 193·6 per cent. upon their numbers in 1921 in the case of the Kadva Kanbis who have during the past decade risen from 1,944 to 5,708 is not real, and appears to have been brought about by the absence of any proper distinction observed in the return of sub-castes at the past Census. The Pancholis, Kharaks and Paleval Brahmans have been for the first time separately shown and respectively number 12,792, 5,425 and 3,901. The rates of increase variation are as high as 35·4 per cent. amongst the Malis, 27·4 amongst the Kachhias and 20·2 amongst the Sathvaras. Amongst the Muslim castes whilst the Sindhis have risen by 24·7 per cent., the Pathans have declined by 2·9.

Cultivators	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
HINDU		
Brahman Paleval ...	3,901	...
Kanbi Kadva ...	5,708	+ 193·6
,, Lewa ...	79,243	+ 10·0
Kharak ...	5,425	...
Kachhia ...	1,197	+ 27·4
Mali	1,326	+ 35·4
Pancholi	12,792	...
Sathwara	1,869	+ 20·8
MUSLIM		
Pathan	780	— 2·9
Sindhi	2,423	+ 24·7

306. Labourers.—The next important group from the point of numbers is that of the labourers and includes the Hindu castes of Kolis and Golas, and the Muslim castes of Balochis and Sipais. The Golas who number only 70 have increased by 11 per cent; but the increase in the strength of the Kolis is as large as 17·6 per cent., and is equivalent to the general increase of 17·3 per cent. in the State population. While the greater part of the Koli increase results from their greater fertility, as seen before, some of it is also due to the immigrants from neighbouring foreign tracts come to the State for employment both in its

Caste	Labourers	
	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
Gola ...	70	+ 11·1
Koli ...	86,287	+ 17·6
Balochi ...	468	+ 50·0
Sipai ...	8,506	...

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industrial and rural occupations. The strength of the Balochis has increased from 312 to 462, but the Sipais who were absorbed in the Sheikhs at the last Census number 8,506.

307. Artisans.—The main castes considered under this group are Darjis, Kadias, Kansaras, Kumbhars, Luhars, Sonis, and Sutars. Kansaras whose separate sorting was for the first time undertaken on this occasion number 1,564. All the castes shown in the margin except Kadias and Sonis register varying degrees of increases. While the Kadias have dropped down from 24 to 23, the Sonis have been reduced by 15·8 per cent. The fall in the Kadias seems to be due to the intrusion of other lower castes upon their hereditary occupation. But the greater loss suffered by Sonis results from the migratory nature of that caste whose enterprising members leave the State in substantial numbers for places like Bombay which supply ample scope for making money and displaying their artistic abilities. The emigration of this caste was also induced by the monetary stringency of the past decade which would hardly leave sufficient money in the hands of the people to invest it in ornaments. Of the rest, Darjis have increased by 20·4, Kumbhars by 25·7, and Sutars by 18·1 per cent.

Artisans	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
Darji ...	6,974	+ 20·4
Kadia ...	23	— 4·1
Kansara ...	1,564	...
Kumbhar ...	22,953	+ 25·7
Luhar ...	6,452	+ 0·3
Soni ...	3,852	— 15·8
Sutar ...	5,938	+ 18·1

308. Weavers, Carders, Dyers etc.—The margin shows the respective strength of and the rates of variation in the castes considered by this para. Galiaras, Tais and Vanzas figure separately in the Caste Table for the first time. Bhavsars have risen from 393 to 474. Variation in Dheds who dominate this class as also in Khatris is the same, and comes to the natural increase of 8·6 per cent. But the strength of Muslim Pinjaras has increased by 61.

Weavers, etc.	Strength	Increase or Decrease per cent. since 1921
Bhavsar ...	474	+ 20·6
Dhed ...	13,963	+ 8·6
Galiara ...	289	...
Khatri ...	1,826	+ 8·6
Pinjara ...	542	+ 12·7
Tai... ...	62	...
Vanza ...	318	...

309. Leather Worker.—This group consists of Chamars, Dabgars, and Mochis who work in leather. The varying degrees of increases among the Charmars and Mochis betoken some tendency on the part of the former to betake themselves to such allied occupations as shoe-mending and shoe-making and return themselves as the latter. The strength of Dabgars is, however, only 80.

Leather Workers	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
Chamar ...	3,765	+ 6·8
Dabgar ...	80	...
Mochi ...	6,442	+ 17·3

310. The Untouchables.—The so-called untouchables or *antyajas* who are otherwise styled as 'depressed' form the lowest rung of the social ladder. In the preceding Chapter, it has been seen that they are definitely Hindus both in their religious and social practices. The castes obtaining amonst them are as exclusive and rigid as those amongst the Hindus of the higher castes. Even amongst the various castes of the untouchables themselves, untouchability has taken such a deep root that a Dhed will not fetch water at a well assigned to Chamars, neither will he interdine with the members of the latter caste. The three castes that furnish the total number of untouchables in the State are Bhangis, Chamars and Dheds. Their combined strength numbers 22,338 and accounts for 45 per mille of the total, and 52 per mille of the Hindu population of the State. The increase in their ranks during the last decennium amounts to 9·8 per cent. As the

Untouchables	Strength	Variation per cent. since 1921
Total ...	**22,338**	**+ 9·8**
Bhangi ...	4,610	+ 16·3
Chamar ...	3,765	+ 6·8
Dhed ...	13,963	+ 8·6

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class is generally immobile, the increase is all due to natural causes. The largest section of the untouchables is drawn from the Dheds who number 13,963 and have risen by 8·6 per cent. But while the increase amongst the Bhangis is 649 or 16·3 per cent., that amongst the Chamars is only 241 or 6·8.

A passing reference may, however, be made to the general attitude of the people towards the untouchables. Cent per cent. of the orthodox still regard themselves polluted by their touch and a bath is inevitably resorted to when touched by them. But the educated and enlightened sections of Hindu society who have begun to realise the social inequality and injustice to which these dumb masses of the depressed classes have been subjected for centuries, are benevolent enough to connive at their touch outside their homes. But public criticism comes in the way of their allowing them entry in their houses, while they would be reluctant to touch them openly in the presence of their elders and caste men. During railway travelling these scruples are generally taken of lightly, and the cries *utari jao, utari jao* are fewer than before. It was not unusual in old times to notice the efforts made to exclude these people from railway compartments. But nowadays it is becoming out of date, and such efforts, where made, are resisted not only by the Dheds themselves, but even by Caste Hindus holding progressive views. But in order that the barriers that separate the depressed from the higher classes and prevent their being up-lifted from their degenerate social and economic condition may be removed, the vast majority of the Hindus, on the one hand, who are apathetic to their unfortunate existence, should cease to be so, and the *antyajas*, on the other hand, should abandon their unclean and insanitary habits.

311. Nationality of Foreigners.—Despite the necessary instructions given to the enumerators to enter the race of foreigners, proper entries have not been made for them in Column 8 of the schedule. This was due to quite a small number of persons whose nationality was other than Indian. The word 'European' was the general entry made for them, the total number of such persons in the State being only 26. A correcter guide in this behalf can be had from the Birthplace Table which registers the places of birth of foreigners.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Group Number	Group and Caste	Strength	Group Number	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3	1	2	3
I	*Landholders and Cultivators,...*	*1,20,524 (241)*	VI	*Fishermen, Boatmen and Palki bearers ...*	*358 (7)*
	Brahman (Anavala) ...	12		Bhoi	327
	Kachhia	1,197		Machhi	31
	Kanbi Kadva	5,708			
	,, Lewa	79,246	VII	*Hunters and Fowlers ...*	*5,658 (11)*
	,, Unspecified ...	4,439		Vaghri	5,658
	Kharak	5,425			
	Malek	35	VIII	*Priests and Devotees ...*	*41,137 (82)*
	Molesalem	66		Brahman Audichya ...	15,700
	Momna	52		,, Mewada ...	1,350
	Pancholi	12,792		,, Modh	4,093
	Pathan	780		,, Nagar	2,709
	Sathvara	1,868		Bava...	8,064
	Sheikh	694		Fakir	1,099
	Sindhi...	2,423		Saiyad	713
	Others...	5,787		Others	7,409
II	*Military and Dominant ...*	*30,582 (61)*	IX	*Temple Servants ... ...*	*4,308 (9)*
	Maratha	169		Brahman Aboti	50
	Rajput	23,421		,, Pushkarna ...	43
	Kathi	6,196		Others	4,215
	Others	796			
III	*Labourers including Agriculturers ... ...*	*94,749 (189)*	X	*Genecologists, Bards and Astrologers ... ...*	*2,961 (6)*
	Gola (Rice pounders) ...	70		Barot	890
	Koli (Chumvalia)... ...	10,154		Charan	2,004
	,, (Talpada)	66,716		Others	67
	,, (Unspecified) ...	8,815	XI	*Writers ... ...*	*10 (...)*
	Others...	8,994		Kayastha	10
IV	*Forest and Hill Tribes ...*	*569 (1)*			
	Adolia	66	XII	*Musicians, Singers, Dancers, mimes, etc. ... ...*	*157 (...)*
	Bhil	503		Bhojak	14
V	*Graziers and Dairymen ...*	*28,685 (57)*		Ghandharv	17
	Ahir	9,598		Nayak...	20
	Bharwad	14,278		Targala	6
	Rabari	4,809		Others...	109

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—*Contd.*

CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Group No.	Group and Caste	Strength	Group No.	Group and Caste	Strength
1	2	3	1	2	3
XIII	*Traders and Peddlers* ...	*64,196 (128)*		Soni	3,872
	Jains	22,189	*XXIII*	*Brass and coppersmiths* ...	*1,564 (3)*
	Luhana	4,440		Kansara	1,564
	Memon	7,290	*XXIV*	*Oil Pressers*	*5,506 (11)*
	Vania Disaval	428		Ghanchi	5,506
	,, Porwad	403	*XXV*	*Butchers*	*782 (2)*
	,, Shrimali	4,310		Kalal	759
	Vohora	2,490		Khatki	32
	Others	22,646	*XXVI*	*Leather Workers*	*10,287 (21)*
XIV	*Barbers*	*7,366 (15)*		Chamar	3,765
	Hajam	7,366		Dabgar	80
XV	*Washermen*	*1,199 (2)*		Mochi	6,442
	Dhobi	1,199	*XXVII*	*Earth, Salt, etc.*	*651 (1)*
XVI	*Weavers, Carders, and Dyers*	*18,738 (38)*		Koli Agaria	309
	Bhavsar	1,716		Ode	102
	Dhed	13,963		Raval	240
	Pinjara	542	*XXVIII*	*Domestic Servants* ...	*1,903 (4)*
	Others	2,517		Khavas	1,823
XVII	*Tailors*	*6,974 (14)*		Sidi	80
	Darji	6,974	*XXIX*	*Village watchmen and Menials*	*44 (...)*
XVIII	*Carpenters*	*5,987 (12)*		Makrani	7
	Sutar	5,938		Miyana	12
	Others...	49		Others	25
XIX	*Masons*	*2,264 (5)*	*XXX*	*Sweepers*	*4,610 (9)*
	Kadia	23		Bhangi	4,610
	Sagar	2,048	*XXXI*	*Others*	*4,976 (10)*
	Salat	193		Atheists	3
XX	*Potters and Brick-layers* ...	*23,171 (46)*		Buddhists	32
	Kumbhar	23,038		Christian	277
	Koli Dalwadi	133		Jew	2
XXI	*Blacksmiths*	*6,486 (13)*		Parsi	309
	Luhar	6,486		Others...	4,353
XXII	*Goldsmiths and Silversmiths...*	*3,872 (8)*			

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE II

VARIATION IN CASTE, TRIBE, ETC.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE	PERSONS		VARIATION: INCREASE (+) DECREASE (—)		Proportion of each Caste, Tribe or Race per 1,000 of the Population 1931
	1931	1921	Variation	Percentage	
1	2	3	4	5	6
HINDU					
Abir ...	9,598	8,408	+ 1,190	+ 14·1	19
Barot...	890	962	— 72	— 7·4	2
Bava...	8,064	7,566	+ 498	+ 6·5	16
Bhangi	4,610	3,961	+ 649	+ 16·3	9
Bharwad	14,278	12,442	+ 1,836	+ 14·7	28
Bhatia	118	90	+ 28	+ 31·1	...
Bhavsar	474	393	+ 81	+ 20·6	1
Bhil	503	467	+ 36	+ 7·7	1
Bhoi	327	109	+ 218	+ 200·0	...
Brahman Ali	*38,199*	*33,777*	*+ 4,422*	*+ 13·0*	*76*
,, Audichya	15,700	14,248	+ 1,452	+ 10·1	31
,, Modh	4,093	3,286	+ 807	+ 24·5	8
,, Shrimali	2,215	1,498	+ 717	+ 47·8	5
,, Nagar	2,709	2,310	+ 399	+ 17·2	5
,, Nowada	1,350	1,159	+ 191	+ 16·4	3
Other Brahmans	12,132	11,276	+ 856	+ 7·5	24
Chamar	3,765	3,524	+ 241	+ 6·8	8
Charan	2,004	1,822	+ 182	+ 9·9	4
Darji	6,974	5,790	+ 1,184	+ 20·4	14
Dhed	13,963	12,852	+ 1,111	+ 8·6	28
Dhobi	1,018	848	+ 170	+ 20·0	2
Gola	70	63	+ 7	+ 11·1	...
Hajam	6,964	6,605	+ 359	+ 5·4	14
Jogi	1,237	1,185	+ 52	+ 4·3	2
Kachhia	1,197	939	+ 258	+ 27·4	2
Kadia	23	24	— 1	— 4·1	...
Kalal	23	8	+ 15	+ 187·5	...
Kanbi Kadva	5,708	1,944	+ 3,764	+ 193·6	12
,, Lewa	79,243	72,022	+ 7,221	+ 10·0	158
,, Unspecified	4,439	...	...	...	9
Kansara	1,564	...	...	...	3
Kathi	6,196	5,550	+ 646	+ 11·6	12
Khavas	1,823	2,240	— 417	+ 18·6	4
Kharak	5,425	...	...	...	11
Khatri	1,826	1,681	+ 145	+ 8·6	4
Koli	86,287	73,360	+ 12,927	+ 17·6	172
Kumbhar	22,953	18,247	+ 4,706	+ 25·7	46
Luhana	4,437	3,891	+ 546	+ 14·0	9
Luhar	6,452	5,152	+ 1,300	+ 0·3	13
Machhi	31	279	— 248	— 88·8	...
Mali ...	1,326	979	+ 347	+ 35·4	3
Maratha	169	62	+ 107	+ 172·5	...
Mochi	6,442	5,492	+ 950	+ 17·3	13
Ode	102	57	+ 45	+ 78·9	...
Pancholi	12,792	...	...	...	25
Rabari	4,809	4,368	+ 441	+ 10·0	10

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The idea of spirit emanation may explain the exclusive nature of caste, the more rigorous restrictions on food and drink and the virulent type of untouchability in the Dravidian South than in the North where these traits were brought into being during the second stage of the development of the Indo-Aryan culture. But by no stretch of imagination can it be construed that the idea of spirit emanation was at the root of caste. Like others that have preceded him, Prof. Gilchrist magnifies a part into a whole, when he picks up one single factor of caste formation and treats it as the origin of caste.

3. The Process of Caste Formation.—It is not possible to disentangle one isolated circumstance and treat it as the origin of such a complex phenomenon as the caste. When one is thinking of the origin of caste, it is difficult to sever any mental connection with the various aspects of caste as it exists to-day. For, it is only with reference to its present form that its beginnings and subsequent stages of development are to be thought of. And while doing so the various tendencies that have entered into the formation of caste cannot but seize the mind during its travel through the labyrinth of factors that have from time to time influenced its evolution into the present form. It is, however, not possible to give due weight to the various currents and cross-currents that have entered into the waters of this great ocean. But there are certain patent facts that mark the Indian caste system and distinguish it form other institutions of a similar character. 'Social differentiation with its attendant demarcation of groups and of status of individuals is a very widespread feature of human society.' Distinctions of class are to be found everywhere in the world. But the caste system differs from the rest in its capacity for multiplication, rigidity and exclusiveness as regards social intercourse and marriage and the strange notions of untouchability between man and man. The factors that have operated to bring these aspects of caste into existence explain the true genesis of caste. Briefly stated the origin of caste lies in the sense of racial and cultural superiority of the Aryan settlers assisted by Brahmanical legislation that laid too much stress upon sacrificial ritual and ceremonial purity. Untouchability is a later outgrowth and purely an offspring of Brahmanic culture nurtured and bred by the animistic beliefs about the sanctity and power of food and water to transmit certain qualities. These ideas transferred on the plane of humanity gave birth to the taint of untouchability and the sanctity of higher castes.

When the early Aryan invaders came to India, they harboured a certain sense of racial and cultural superiority. The Dasyu aborigines were darker in colour and primitive in culture and so there was no common meeting ground between these two alien races. The relatively higher stage of mental development and superior civilization of the Aryans are thus at the root of the class distinction that originally existed between the Aryans and the aborigines of India. For, there would be no common social life between two peoples whose habits of life and manners of living were poles asunder from one another. The latter could not unite with the former in their higher pursuits, and the initial distance assisted the future stratification of society. The levelling of distinctions which comes in course of time between the ruling and subject races by a free community of life did not take place in India as in the case of other countries. Intermarriages between them did not continue to take place freely, though there was a certain admixture and fusion of blood between the two in the beginning. The gradations of the people into the priest, warrior, trader and servant classes that originally existed were not rigid but interchangeable, and the hordes of foreigners that continuously poured from the North, were absorbed into this four-fold division of society. With the march of time, the influence of the Brahman aristocracy was increasing and their laudable attempts to preserve the Vedic lore, and ritualistic purity whose importance was unduly exaggerated received support from the people owing to the life of piety and self-sacrifice led by them and the respect given them by the Kshatriyas or the ruling class. Intermarriage between the aborigines and the Dwijati or Twiceborn ceased to take place. This restriction in conjugal matters that was first aimed at preserving the Aryan blood free from aboriginal contamination was gradually applied for upholding the purity and social superiority of the Brahmans who in course of time married only amongst themselves. Other castes which were now completely under the influence of Brahmanic legislation imitated the apex class, and thus endogamy came to be universal among the Hindus. Restriction as to social intercourse was a necessary corollary to the restrictions as to marriage. Group solidarity and group prestige thus closed up the ranks of various groups and tended to make them endogamous. These considerations were further reinforced by others, economic, linguistic and regional, which gave great impetus to the forces of fission and disruption. The various social groups that had been thus formed were divided and further subdivided into an infinite variety of castes and subcastes through the characteristic Hindu genius for details which carried the process to its logical conclusion.

Thus evolved, the system gained adventitious strength during the centuries of Mahomedan rule, when the race's instinct of self-preservation and the individual's need of personal safety combined to endow caste with its rigid and exclusive character. Caste, as seen before, is a part of Hinduism and is thus a socio-religious institution. Like Hindu religion, caste is also synthetic and has absorbed within its four-fold divisions hosts of foreigners that poured into India since the first Aryan invasion. It has proved sufficiently elastic and flexible to make room for the alien races that followed these early settlers. For, all of them readily found a place within the ever-widening bounds of this most marvellous of social institutions ever evolved by man. The outsiders too willingly obeyed the caste injunctions and took their position with the children of the soil. But the Mahomedan invasions that continued for centuries and the impact of Islam with

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Hinduism called upon the Hindus to summon all their energies and rally them round the citadel of caste. The social bonds tightened more and more round the neck of society, giving semi-sovereign powers over its members to the various groups that had by this time become autonomous and acquired great solidarity and caste consciousness. The individual was under the all-pervading influence of caste. The powerful sway which the system exercised over the people cannot be better portrayed than by transcribing the following passage from the pen of Prof. K. T. Shah. He remarks :—

" For them, ordinarily, the caste provided a clear cut life, a career, a series of definite, unexceptioned, unmistakable regulations, governing every event and activity from their conception to the final disposal of their ashes. Within its fold, the caste-system provided a breadth and a scope, an equality and an assurance, which to vast majority spelt satisfaction. The injunctions of the original law-giver took one of the more agreeable guise of ritual and ceremonial, socio-religious in form, and infinitely varied in aspect, providing like some fairy landscape, a charm all its own, a scope wide enough not to be mortifying, and yet restricted enough not to be bewildering. Assuring a career, the caste nevertheless did not deny individuality altogether, enforcing a division of labour, the caste could not always deny scope for striking talent, and, of course, never confine absolute genius. " [1]

Caste was thus supreme for all internal purposes, until the advent of the British rule which marked the beginning of the disintegration of caste authority. On the political side, caste stopped at the idea of village Panchayat based upon the co-operation of its members. It was a sort of close corporation which combined within itself all the functions of the executive, legislature and judiciary. The central aspect of this society was co-operation and inter-dependence both in matters social and economic. Man may come and man may go, but like the stream that goes on for ever, the village system went on through ages without any let or hindrance from the outsiders. The sense of solidarity, internal security, and mutual trust and confidence which it engendered enabled it to weather the roughest storm. It was a sort of small republic which guided and controlled the civic affairs of the Indian people, and meted out equitable and social justice to its members. But as will be seen further the system completely gave way under the stress of modern economic conditions, and its authority was greatly undermined by the opening of law courts. That the polittcal evolution did not go beyond the small village organization is not due to any inherent defect in the institution itself. Possibly it was the most favourable basis on which the structure of Indian nationality could have been built upon, and democratic institutions on modern lines in forms suitable to native conditions developed. But during the centuries of alien rule, the Hindus lost political freedom. and were deprived of any initiative for political progress. Even in western countries, the idea of nationality is quite recent and doss not date beyond the nineteenth century. There is, therefore, absolutely no reason why the institution of the village Panchayat which contained the necessary germ of national institutions should not have thrived under a free and friendly atmosphere.

4. Aims and Objects of Caste.—Foreign and even Indian writers on caste have grossly exaggerated the tyranny of the caste system owing to the very narrow and superficial views formed of it, as also to the wrong notions conceived as to its nature and origin. Mr. Sherring, one of the principal authorities on the subject labels the caste fabric as " a monstrous engine of pride, dissension, and shame. " Much has been made of the Brahmanical influence on caste, and the fissiparous and separatist tendencies at work in the mechanism. The various castes were not on that war-path of destruction which the people are usually led to believe. The village Panhayat was a kind of social brotherhood in which everybody and every caste contributed its mite for the well-being of the rest. They had not only rights but corresponding responsibilities to the society. Greatest harmony prevailed amongst the members of different castes. It is a travesty of facts and exhibition of colossal ignorance to attribute the emergence of caste distinctions to the Machiavellian ingenuity of the Brahmans who consciously adopted the policy of *divide and rule.* As Dr. Jogendranath Bhattacharya justly remarks :—

" The ambition that led the Hindu law-givers to place their own class above the rest of mankind, has no doubt, an appearance of selfishness. But if self-aggrandisement had been, as is alleged, their sole motive, then there was nothing to prevent them from laying down the law that the proper men to enjoy the kingly office and the various loaves and fishes of the public service, were the Brahmans. The highest secular ambition of the Brahman was to be the unpaid advisor of the Crown, and as a matter of actual practice, the entire civil service was left by them in the hands of the Kayasthas. " [2]

The true ethical aSpect of caste should, however, be perceived in the twofold object which aimed not only at the cultural but also at the disciplinary evolution of mankind. The cultural development was secured by the practice of religion by the individual, while the discipline which relates to the stage of his mental development was attained by *varnashrama dharma* dealing with the classes of society and the stages of individual life. The interests of society received equal attention with those of the individual. The importance of the individual was emphasised not for his selfish ends but for the common weal of society. Thus viewed, the traditional theory of Manu which views caste as originated from the different limbs of Brahma, is of great symbol-

1. *Splendour That Was Ind*', p. 197.
2. *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 3.

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significance. It emphasises the organic nature of the system, with its four-fold divisions of castes, each of which exists not by itself but as a part of the whole, every part contributing to the well-being of the whole. The classes were in their turn devised for the gradual improvement of human nature. For,

"The caste system, valid in the second stage of the householder, assumes the unity and the interdependence of humanity. It takes into account the needs of the society as well as the interests of the individual. It sustains personality in that it helps the individual to transcend himself by giving his devotion to something beyond himself. By focussing his energies at a particular point in the environment, he tries to actualize his potentialities. It is an illustration of Hegel's harmony of opposites, a point of view which reconciles the apparently conflicting claims of the individual and the society. Not the good of self as a thing apart, or the good of society by itself, but a higher good to promote which constant self-renewal and social service are means is the governing principle of the caste system. Taking into account the variety of human nature, it lays down ways and means by which each man can attain full self-expression. It works up to the ideal of equality by recognizing the actual differences. It is an attempt to co-operate with the forces of nature and not flout them. Those who criticise the institution from the platform of modern knowledge do not remember that in no other country were peoples belonging to stocks of very unequal value thrown together. The pre-vedic peoples with whom the Aryans had to mingle were of a lower grade of civilization and culture. They were constituted into the fourth estate of the unregenerate, the once-born, the *ekajati*, in whom no quality of the intellect, emotion or will is particularly developed. The twice-born or the regenerate are divided into three classes according to their intellect, emotion or will is more dominant than the others. Those who are strongly endowed with the powers of thought and reflection are the Brahmans ; those gifted with heroism and love are the Kshtriyas or the warriors ; those strongly inclined towards the practical business of life are the Vaishyas or the traders. The four classes correspond to the intellectual, the militant, the industrial and the unskilled workers. All of them serve God's creation by their own capacities, the Brahmans by their spirituality, the Kshatriyas by their heroism, the Vaishyas by their skill and the Sudras by their services.* All of them place the common good above that of their party or class. Claims of egotism and ambition are subordinated to those of conscience and justice, the enduring values that are confided to our keeping. When the different classes fulfil their respective functions, the society is considered to be just or in accordance with *dharma.*"[1]

The social fabric of the Hindus was thus organised on the basis of spiritual perfection.

The economic aspect of caste is seen through the occupational basis of caste which recognised the initial differences of intellect and aptitude and aimed at securing specialization and efficiency by the transmission of hereditary traits from father to son. Every worker had ample scope for the unfettered expression of his artistic skill, and the full development of professional technique which were in their turn facilitated by hereditary environments of the traditional occupation. Over-production, unemployment, and cut-throat competition did not hamper the even growth of industries, and the arts thrived under the bracing influence of fuller and completer communal life and social love.

5. Modern Tendencies in Caste.—So much for the objective side of the caste. But some of the fissiparous tendencies that are at work, more particularly after the firm establishment of the British rule in India, have greatly modified the fabric af caste. Apparently rigid and exclusive, the institution has shown wonderful capacity for adapting itself to the changed environments which is really the key-note of its survival through ages. The main tendencies that are at present at work will be briefly discussed below.

The tyranny and over-powering influence of castes have been the cause of the protestant currents and revolutionary cross currents that have from time to time appeared in and across the stream of Hinduism. Mahavir and Gautama before the dawn of the Christian era, religious teachers like Kabir, Nanak and Dayanand Saraswati in more recent times, and social reformers like Keshav Chandra Sen have rebelled against the very existence of caste and tried to uproot it. But its native elasticity has always served it in good stead by enabling it to make necessary adjustments. It may temporarily bend before the blast, but as soon as the fury of the storm is spent, it has not only raised its head but has also brought the rebels back to is fold with the redoubled zeal of converts.

Among the present day tendencies should be noticed the breaking up of the monopolistic position formerly enjoyed by the Brahmans. In the social hierarchy of caste, this apex class no longer continues to claim that reverence and enjoy that authority which it once did. With the spread of education and the increasing facilities for carrying on higher studies, the study of the Vedas is no longer their exclusive privilege. Any man of any caste can imbibe the teachings of the Scriptures at the College where the courses in Sanskrit literature and philosopey in B.A. and M.A. classes recognise no distinction of caste or creed. The Brahmans have no longer stuck to their traditional occupation of learning and making others learned. They practise any profession which is handy, and which originally belonged to non-priestly castes. Some of them have preserved

* Sukraniti 1, 38-42.

1. Prof. Radharkrishnan, *The Heart of Hindusthan*, p. 39.

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their traditional occupation, in that they alone can minister to their own and other castes on ceremonial occasions. Among the many sub-castes of Brahmans in the State, such people become a class by themselves whose sole business is to act as ministrants and support themselves by alms-taking. Of the remaining Brahmans those who are educated take to service, business or even agriculture, while those who are uneducated are in no way better off than the members of any other caste. Their once proud and laudable privilege of being the custodians of ancient wisdom and Vedic lore has thus imperceptibly passed away, leaving to some the sole monopoly of begging, cooking, and acting as priests. What is true of the occupation of the priestly class, is true to a greater extent of the avocations of all the rest except the lower and depressed classes, the odium and sense of social inferiority attaching to whose occupations keep them bound up to their hereditary profession. But the anti-touchability movement started by various institutions working for the cause of social reform has done a great deal to educate public opinion in the better treatment of these classes. Thus the functional aspect of caste has proved to be very flexible in actual practice during recent years. Nor is that all. While the old village Panchayat has been long before displaced by the establishment of British Courts of Law and by the appointment of petty officials to collect land revenue, and its integrity undermined by the separatist and individualistic tendencies of modern times, the hold of caste upon its members has been greatly shaken. Caste governance has become lax everywhere. Its growing tyranny and its incapacity to minister to the changing needs of society have proved that the caste in its present form has outgrown its usefulness, and that some radical transformation should take place, if it is to justify its existence as a useful social institution. The decrees of the *panch* are set at nought and the influential malcontents obeying that inevitable segmental law of caste set up a caste within a caste. The establishment of criminal and civil courts has greatly curtailed the jurisdiction of caste which is now solely confined to such matters as foreign travel, marriage, dining outside the caste, disobeying the caste rules and regulations, and the morals of its members. Restrictions as to food and drink have greatly watered down owing to railway travelling. In boarding houses and hotels members of higher castes sit side by side with those of the lower and take their food without any compunction. Caste barriers have become very loose especially amongst those who have received English education. Caste *panch* fully aware of these departures from traditional practice connive at them as necessary evils that cannot be cured. Though endogamy or restriction as to marriage outside the caste or sub-caste is still the chief characteristic of castes, hypergamy and *kulinism* lead the less influential sections of a group to contract such vices as the sale of brides for heavy prices. Even those who would like to widen the horizon of caste for the purposes of marriage either by combining all the various sub-caste or the different groups populalrly known as *gols* cannot do so for fear of social ostracism. But the instances either of inter-caste marriages or inter sub-caste marriages are not wanting, and mark the revolting tendency of the time. They show the way the wind is blowing. Even the instances of widow-remarriages noted in the Report point to the same fact that the bonds of caste are slowly but surely loosening and that the caste in its present form has become intolerable to society.

But side by side with the working of dissolving factors noticed above, is the under-current of some of the unifying tendencies that characterise the caste system of to-day. Education brings in its wake ideas of enlightenment and progress. The energies of those of the intelligentsia who want to do something for their fellowmen, find in the existing institution of caste a ready outlet for translating their altruistic motives into action. Caste pride and caste-patriotism are the result. Their activities take the shape of caste conferences held annually with a view to bring all the different sections of the caste or sub-caste together and have for their object the promotion of the cause of education, framing of rules and regulations for the conduct of their members, and introduction of social reforms. The lower strata of Hindu society have always been eager to imitate their brethern of the higher castes, and the conference movement is rapidly gaining ground even in the ranks of such beckward castes as the Mochis whose members recently met in the City from distant parts of the Peninsula to pass very elaborate resolutions on various topics of social reform.

6. The Future of Caste.—After all is said and surmised, it will be asked as to what will the future of caste be? The most obvious contention advanced in favour of the eradication of what is styled as the 'cancerous excrescence' of caste is its anti-nationalistic character. That caste, with its fissiparous tendencies and unequal distinctions of birth and status, with its multitudes of rigid and exclusive endogamous groups, and with the retrogressive nature of its working and fetters round the individual, is a great impediment to the growth of the people of this country into a united nation cannot be gainsaid. The idea of caste, some regard to be antagonistic to the full and free development of democratic institutions on western lines. And caste-patriotism, it is said, is incompatible with nationalism. Caste is thus a heavy incubus that has befallen the people of this land, and unless it is lifted by rending its bonds through intermarriage, there can be no hope of welding them into an organized nation. Fusion of blood entailing the consequent breaking up of this time-honoured institution has been, therefore, suggested as the only possible solution to this end.

But those who advocate that the idea of caste is antagonistic to the idea of nationality do not fully realise the inner working and development of its mechanism. Its true nature and origin, the object it has served in the past and may still serve in the future are generally lost sight of. No right thinking man wishes this mighty structure to continue to function in its present degenerate form which hampers all social and individual efforts at self-expression and

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promotes disruption and discord. A closer study of this social organism of the Hindus reveals that caste is only ostensibly rigid. No doubt, its body has become old, stiff and wrinkled ; but the spirit that lies within it has given ample proofs both of its *elasticity* and *adaptibility* at various stages of its development. These characteristics are evident in the evolution of the modern Hindu Law one of whose sources is the customs and usages of the people which have been incorporated into this great system. Had the law been absolutely rigid and inelastic, it would have remained as unprogressive as the Law of the Musalmans has proved to be. That caste is amenable to modern ideas will be seen from the movements towards social reform, and remodelling of caste organizations on constitutional basis. The functional basis of caste and its loose operation have been already noticed and do not call for any explanation as to the great adaptability the caste has shown in the matter of giving up traditional occupations. The capacity of caste for adapting itself to altered circumstances has been proved to be immense. It will, therefore, not to be too much to expect it to once again exert its native 'flexibility in consonance with the modern ideas of the freedom of the individual.' If the caste succeed in regaining its former elasticity, the development of the Indian people into a great homogeneous nation is assured. For, as Prof. Gilchrist remarks, the Hindu social system is an arrested form of political development and so the idea of nationality within Hinduism does not seem impossible owing to a certain fluidity and flexibility by which it is marked despite its extraordinary rigidity of structure. This can be done by so evolving the social fabric in the future as to confine the sphere of caste purely to social matters. Some of the rigid and exclusive aspects of caste are the legacy of her past history which could not help its development on the lines on which it has done. Recent as the idea of nationality is, the fulness of communal life which the people enjoyed in the past would have enabled them to grow into nationhood, had the necessary initiative been left to them in political life.

Caste system is not an unmitigated evil, though its baneful effects upon the Hindu humanity cannot be underrated. It has got a charm all its own. It has played a very important and useful part in the life of the people. It is an institution at once so sacred and so dear to the Hindus, that it cannot be removed from the native soil without shaking the very foundations of social life on which it stands. It must also be remembered that even those amongst whom caste does not exist have seen the necessity of having class distinctions in some form or another. The difficulties, therefore, in the way of undoing it are insuperable. And it is neither a matter of practical politics nor a matter of practical social reform to demolish against the wishes of the people a semi-religious structure which has taken centuries to be built up and can still be made to serve a useful purpose by necessary modifications. With it is wound up the future of Hinduism. The Hindus regard their very existence jeopardised by the passing away of an institution which is part and parcel of their social life. Those finer sentiments of co-operation and love in everyday life for which caste has stood for ages cannot be fostered by any other form of social system that may be set up in its place. It is not the symptoms but the malady that require to be treated. There can be no justification for a course which wants to kill the spirit for the offence of the body. Indian social organization, therefore, cannot do without caste, though it must be the caste reorganised and rejuvenated to suit modern conditions of life. It is no fault of the institution, if it has developed into a form which is no longer useful. For, human ingenuity has so far failed to devise an institution which can serve humanity for all time to come. Before closing this Appendix, the following constructive remarks made by Prof. Radhakrishnan cannot but prove instructive:—

"The exaggerated value given to caste in times of political insecurity is no more necessary. Caste has a future only if it is confined to social matters. In every society, people enter into marriage relations with those who are near to them in habits of mind and action. Since a common cultural tradition is better developed among those who pursue the same vocation, marriages among the members of the same profession become the order of the day..... Caste as a basis of intimate social relations does not interfere with the larger life of the nation."[1]

1. *The Heart of Hindusthan*, p. 51.

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APPENDIX V

ANTHROPOMETRIC SURVEY

1. Much useful work has been done in the domain of ethnography since the 1901 Census Report was written by Sir Herbert Risley. The conclusions then arrived at by him have formed the subject matter of a great controversy, making their revision imperative in the light of researches made during the last three decades. With a view, therefore, to re-state the anthropological problem in India, Dr. Hutton, the peresent Census Commissioner for India, has got made a series of anthropometrical investigations on Brahman and other castes by Dr. B. S. Guha, A.M., Ph. D., Anthropologist, Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta, who visited parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar for the purpose. The current State Census proved eventful in more respects than one. For, Bhavnagar was the only State in Kathiawar which had the good fortune of being selected by Dr. Guha for the purpose of his survey. He visited it during the month of February 1931, and measured a good number of heads of the Nagar and other Brahmans, Hindu and Jain Vanias and Kathis. It is but, therefore, proper that the results of such a valuable and important scientific inquiry carried out of the people of this State should be made avaliable to the reader of this Report. And so a statement showing the results of these measurements, *viz.*, cephalic and nasal indices and cephalic and nasal length and breadth kindly supplied by Dr. Guha is given at the next page for the use of the student of anthropology. Six typical photographs of the castes measured in the State and kindly sent by him have been turned into blocks and given overleaf to facilitate the study of the statistics given. But it will take some time before the deductions made by Dr. Guha, which will be published by the Government of India in the All-India Census Report, are made available to us.

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SUBSIDIARY TABLE I

Name of Caste	Number of Cases measured	Cephalic Index		Nasal Index		Cephalic Length		Cephalic Breadth		Nasal Length		Nasal Breadth	
		Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Kathi ...	40	80·71	4·43	66·38	6·66	187·58	6·07	151·25	7·01	54·9	3·07	36·5	2·92
Nagar Brahman ...	105	81·38	3·93	69·05	6·7	185·1	6·35	150·5	6·82	52·9	3·7	36·4	2·94
Vania ...	99	80·5	4·22	70·25	6·56	185·3	7·91	149·16	6·67	53·36	4·07	37·4	2·81
Audichya and other Brahmans ...	93	78·7	3·4	69·7	5·71	184·0	6·38	144·7	4·52	51·9	3·29	36·1	2·38

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Brahman-Audichya

Brahman-Vadnagara Nagar

Brahman-Prashnora Nagar

Kathi-Khuman

Vania-Kapol

Vania-Jain

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Adodia Camp-Life

A group photo of the Adodia females and children taken after the males had deserted their Camp when raided by the Police

Adodia Females

Adodia Males

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APPENDIX VI

ADODIAS

1. Who are the Adodias ?—The wandering tribe of Adodias has been variously styled as Adodias, Chharas or Bhats. They are called Adodias, because of their habit of always going *ādā* or astray in their wanderings. They never keep themselves to the main paths which they always avoid with a view to escape their being noticed by the people. They travel by unfrequented and obscure tracks, and thus succeed in keeping their manœuvres undetected.

The Adodias are known to have come over to this side, since the last three or four generations, from Marwar and Jodhpur. Famine and hunger seem to have driven them from their native home, and sent them wandering over to this part of the country. Their origin is not definitely known, as on account of their criminal habits they have been compelled to avoid all social contact with the public, and remain a class by themselves. It has been, however, suggested that they are by caste Bhangis, though they have become generally known as a wandering tribe of low origin. In any case there can be no gainsaying the fact that they belong to very low and backward strata of society. Wild and uncivilized, the Adodias are physically very strong and well-built, and capable of roughing any weather. Neither cold nor heat can affect them. Tall and robust, they are capable of enduring all sorts of hardships. They are very filthy in their habits, and unclean in their attire. Their females are very hard-hearted, indecent in their behaviour, and very freely use abusive and offensive language. They will not hesitate to go even to the extent of throwing their children at the feet of the police officials, and at times of being naked in their very presence and thus drive them away in disgust. The code of morality of such a tribe is naturally very lax.

2. Their Criminal Operations.—The Adodias are a criminal tribe of predatory habits, having no fixed place of abode. They wander from place to place, under the guidance of the acknowledged leader of their gang, who wields considerable influence over the members of his party. They move about with their families in gangs of 20 to 30 persons, camping at such places as afford them facilities for the conduct of their nefarious activities. They do not know what it is to earn their bread by honest and respectable means. They are always looked upon with suspicion and distrust, and they mix but little with the people who are subjected by them to great harassment and trouble. Cattle-lifting, stealing standing crops and corn gathered in the fields, and committing petty thefts form their principal occupation. They keep with them donkeys, horses, bullocks, cows and other cattle which they have lifted in large numbers. The donkeys are very useful to them in carrying their belongings from one place to another. Apart from stealing standing and harvested crops, they commit such larceny as stealing clothes, shoes, ropes, etc. But with the passage of time, and by their increasing association with persons who dispose of stolen goods, they have been emboldened to commit more serious offences like kidnapping, dacoity and even murder. Not infrequently, they also resort to black-mailing the poor villagers. Every monsoon at the harvest time, they run over the fields and deprive the poor cultivator of the fruits of his honest labour. The Adodias have thus proved to be a menace of long standing to the peasantry of Kathiawar which does not feel secure in the face of this living danger. For, the produce raised from the hard and stony soil of the Peninsula which is to support it for the rest of the year is found to have been stolen away by these people during the course of a single night. Their operations thus subject the cultivators to great hardship and embarrassment. The Adodias are exceptionally clever at cattle-lifting and would steal away a bullock or a cow without being caught, even if the owner is sleeping by. They can tame with ease the most stubborn and refractory ox. Usually the Adodias come unawares, and it is not before they have completed their work, that the poor peasants become aware of their losses. When pursued, they would come face to face with their pursurers, only if they think that they will be a match for them. They are very clever at throwing stones with catapult, and both men and women keep stones round their waists. They also keep *lathis* and *dharias*. The peasant is cowed down and dares not oppose them. Though troubled a great deal by these people, he fears to inform the police about their whereabouts. The much-needed police assistance is not always immediately available; and as soon as the Adodias get a scent that they are after them, they desert their camps and run away leaving the females behind, secure in the belief that nothing will happen to them. The latter too very cleverly manage the police by some of their obscene and disgusting practices referred to above.

3. Factors favouring their Operations and Escape.—Added to this is the peculiar physical and political configuration of the Peninsula of Kathiawar which greatly facilitates the operations of the Adodias. Kathiawar is a congeries of many big and small Indian States, and a large number of petty Talukdars and land-holders whose territories meet at various places. There are also the villages of the Agency and of the British District of Ahmedabad. Places are, there-

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fore, not rare where the boundaries of more than two different States meet each other. Moreover, the hilly districts that are always to be found in the territory of almost every Indian State of the Peninsula afford a secure and convenient place of refuge from which they can carry on their maraudings. In order to facilitate their work, the sites of their camps are extremely well-chosen. They encamp near the *tarbheta* or the place where the boundaries of three different States verge upon one another making it easy for them to step into a foreign jurisdiction, immediately after an offence is committed. They always commit theft within the boundary of one State, and run away into that of another. They take care never to involve themselves in a crime within the local limits of the jurisdication of the place where they have for the time being encamped. Not infrequently, their thefts are committed at a distance of about ten to twelve miles from their camps. Whenever possible, as soon as an offence is committed, they run down behind a hill and escape detection by crossing into a foreign jurisdiction with the greatest ease and thus defy the provisions of law. In the instance of this State, they thrive more especially in the Mahals of Umrala, Gadhada, Mahuva, Botad and Sihor whose boundaries are adjacent to those of the States of Junagadh, Baroda, Palitana, Jetpore and Vala, and of the British District of Ahmedabad and the Talukas of the Agency. Sometimes they encamp within the limits of the villages of Mulgirassias and other Talukdars who give them shelter, and connive at their criminal habits in order to save themselves and their ryots from their depradations. Some of the agriculturists also buy relief by giving them protection and assisting them in procuring their necessities.

The inter-twining, therefore, of the different jurisdictions at various places and the connivance at crimes and willing shelter afforded to them by some of the Talukdars, and even the villagers to save their land from their maraudings render the task of bringing the Adodias within the pale of law especially difficult. They can commit any crime and escape in the neighbouring jurisdiction with impunity. It is, therefore, rarely possible to catch them red-handed. The necessity on the other hand of undergoing certain formalities in making a *prima facie* case against the accused resident in a foreign jurisdiction, and the delay consequent thereupon fail to have the desired effect upon these people. They lose all respect for law and authority, as the proceedings fail to have any deterrent effect upon their actions. The afflicted cultivator is left to the mercy of the Adodias, who continue to harass him without any let or hindrance. Thus the law as at present constituted, is powerless to help the agriculturists against the activities of this criminal tribe, more particularly, because the Agency police and the police of the different States are rarely found to co-operate in this matter. There have been Agency Circulars to the effect that when these Adodias are taken hold of by the police of a State, they should be expelled and passed over from one police station to another until they are sent to their native place. But they are not strictly observed and are generally not put into practice. The result is that this harbours little respect for the hand of authority in the heart of the criminals who continue their business unchecked and unmolested. It may be mentioned in this connection that in the Samvat Year 1970, *i.e.*, 1914 A.D., this State passed an Act to put an end to the terrorizing activities of the Adodias, and keep a close watch over their movements. But the legislation failed to achieve its purpose in the absence of similar measures on the part of other jurisdictions concerned. Under the circumstances, the summary and drastic legislation of authorising the different State police to catch the Adodias from a foreign jurisdiction without having to make *prima facie* proceedings against them is the only possible remedy of combating this pest. There must also be a criminal tribe settlement in every State, which should try to settle them in life by segregating them at particular places and provide them with the wherewithals to earn an honest living. There seems to be no other better and practicable solution to this problem.

A constructive step in this direction has been recently taken by the Bhavnagar State Police who have settled more than fifty Adodias in the Mahal of Victor where they have been given facilities for their employment at the stone quarries of Rajula. It will be interesting to see how far this novel attempt to reclaim these wandering nomads to a settled peaceful life proves successful. If it does, as it is hoped it will, it should encourage other states to follow suit, or rather all the states in Kathiawar might well combine and take concerted action to recover these criminal tribes to civilization, and thus once for all rid the country-side of this perennial pest.

4. Mode of Life.—As regards their mode of life, the Adodias live a camp life of the Bohemian type. They encamp in the fields where they pitch their so-called tents conveniently made of a large piece of cloth supported by wooden sticks. They are very small and modest, and serve the purpose of keeping their goods under them. They support themselves by theft, and flesh of animals hunted by them. They have no compunction in eating the flesh even of corpses found in the fields. As an instance of their uncleanliness, it may be cited that their camps have been found to be stinking stark with the smell of raw meat kept in them. They live and sleep in the open, and as their camps are guarded by their excellent watch-dogs, it is well-nigh impossible for anyone to enter the boundaries of their camping ground. They remove their camps always in the dark of night and never by day. As their necessities are few and meagre, over and above a large number of cattle carried by them in their wanderings, they hardly possess anything more than a few earthen pots and utensils, and some iron vessels.

5. Religion.—In religion, the Adodias are tribal, and betray animistic tendencies. They do not believe in Hindu gods and goddesses, but worship Bhensasur the demon buffalo-god whom they hold in great awe and reverence and regard as the embodiment of great strength and power. The word Bhensasur is a compound of two words *Bhensa* and *Asura* which respec-

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tively mean a buffalo and a demon. They offer animal sacrifices on the *Dashera* day and other festive occasions, when they go out feasting themselves. As Bhensasur is very sacred in their eyes, they will steal and kill all animals except the buffalo. They also believe in Ram De Pir, a saint of Marwar and keep round their neck a square silver locket with his foot-prints embossed upon it. In every camp are to be found a trident besmeared with red lead powder (*sindur*), a cocoanut, and some 4 or 5 *couries* which are held to represent Bhensasur. They do not allow anybody to touch them. Many a time an unwilling offender is brought near them and made to confess his guilt under the threat of these things being touched by an untouchable. But he would court imprisonment rather than see them polluted by a Bhangi under his very nose. It has also been said that they keep all their money and valuables under the ground where these things are placed. The Adodias are highly superstitious, and believe in good and ill omens of many sorts. Whenever they change their camp or go out on their criminal errand, they never leave their camp before consulting these omens. If they turn out to be unfavourable, they would never stir out, unless and until a satisfactory omen is observed. Among them there prevails a custom that whenever an Adodia goes out for committing a theft, he swears that he would never return home empty-handed. Sometimes, his adventure does turn out to be unsuccessful, but then he would go back to his camp only after stealing a pair of shoes or a rope or such other things in order that the vow he has taken may be considered fulfilled.

6. Social Life among the Adodias.—There are various gangs of Adodias roaming in different parts of Kathiawar. Each gang is known either by the name of its leader or by the name of the place which forms the centre of its activities. Thus, those of the Adodias, who wander near and about Rajkot are known as Rajkotias, and those near Jetpore as Jetporias. Every gang has its acknowledged leader whose hold over its members is immense and whose behest they are sworn to obey. Within their fold they observe strict discipline and secrecy. Great unity prevails amongst them. They will do or say nothing that will imperil the safety of their gang. No amount of corporal punishment will ever succeed in extracting from them the truth about the whereabouts of the culprit or the information that would incriminate their brethren. It is never possible to make them speak the truth. They are born liars and the greatest of rogues. They would never give even their true names and relationship. When asked to give their names, even in the course of a legal inquiry, they would give any names that are on their lips and an Adodia woman would not hesitate to refer herself as the wife of a co-accused who is not related to her as such. The same is equally true also of the males. This assumption of different names at different times and places makes the work of identification very difficult, and it is not unusual to find a notorious Adodia leader bearing half a dozen aliases. Because in every question that is put to him he sees on the part of the questioner a desire to trap him into proving his guilt. And this is responsible for his cultivating the habit of giving false answers, and thereby evading giving any clue either to his movements or to his actions. They have established social intercourse between the members of different gangs, between whom marriages are celebrated and dinners on funeral as well as festive occasions given. Disputes among themselves are decided by the leading members of the gangs who gather at a particular place to sit in judgment upon the offender. Their decision is final and binding. The offender against the rule of the community is severely dealt with, the punishment varying from excommunication from the gang to severe beating and death by torture.

7. Census Statistics.—At the present Census, 66 persons of the Adodia tribe were enumerated in the Umrala Mahal of the State. It is significant to note that none of them has returned his or her caste, tribe of birthplace. All of them are illiterate, and have no particular religion. Of these 66, 18 are males and 48 females. They have returned themselves as dependants and belonging to a wandering tribe. Their names are a mixture of Hindu and Muslim names, which may hardly be their true names. The great preponderance of females over males, may seem to suggest the polygamous character of the tribe. But it should be particularly noted in this connection that at a time when the police is after them the elderly Adodias desert their camp and roam about in hiding, leaving the children and the female folk behind. By doing so, they baffle the activities of the police department, and succeed in escaping from being caught. This seems to be the true explanation of the preponderance of females amongst the enumerated Adodias. Of the 18 males recorded, 14 are unmarried boys under the age of 13, and 4 are married adult. Out of the 48 females returned, 26 are unmarried, 16 married and 6 widowed, the married females being between the ages of 17 and 46. No female below 17 years is married. Early martiages are, therefore, not prevalent among them.

8. Language.—Respecting the language spoken by them, it should be noted that the Gujarati language is known to these people. But they also use a special lingo, which is known only to themselves. The latter, though it contains some of the words of the Marwari dialect and is akin to it, is yet quite different from it. Neither the Marwaris nor others would be able to make out anything from this particular dialect used by them.

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